The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1930 No. 3404

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 335

EDITORIALS:

Grasping at Straws 338
Without the Law 339
Colleges and Culture 339
What Is an Amateur? 340

COMRADE BROUN. By Franklin P. Adams 341

THE BRITISH IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. By John A. Hobson 342

ON THE COLLEGE FRONTIER. I. WHO OUGHT TO GO TO COLLEGE? By D. T. Howard 344

HAMSTRINGING THE MUTUALS. By J. G. Curtis 346

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 348

CORRESPONDENCE 348

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 349

BOOKS, DRAMA, FILMS:

The Wall. By Isidor Schneider 350
The Cult of Anonymity. By Henry Hazlitt 350
Mr. Garland's Confusion. By C. Hartley Grattan 351
Au Revoir, Mr. Douglas! By Benjamin Stolberg 351
A New Star. By Allen Tate 352
The Negro World's Capital. By Arthur Warner 353
Books in Brief 353
Drama: Two Good Tries. By Heywood Broun 355
Films: Screen Musical Comedy. By Alexander Bakshy 356

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:

The German Crisis. By Reinhold Niebuhr 358

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor

Associate Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DOROTHY VAN DOREN ARTHUR WARNER

Dramatic Editor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Literary Editor
HENRY HAZLITT

Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN

DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

WHEN IN TROUBLE, blame Russia. The fall in the price of wheat, which in recent weeks has been ranging in the neighborhood of eighty cents on the Chicago market, is due, as we have repeatedly pointed out, to conditions of world demand and supply, and not, as far as can be judged, to speculative manipulation. Such a price, disastrous as it is to most of our wheat growers, is likely to be even more disastrous to a national administration facing Congressional elections. Secretary Hyde accordingly discovers that Russia is responsible. He spreads the news on the front pages that the All Russian Textile Syndicate, acting for the Soviet Government, has been selling wheat short on the Chicago Board of Trade; and it is sagely intimated that its purpose is to depress prices and thus spread discontent among the sturdy American farmers. This suggestion is plain silly. The Russian Government, which expects to have a large amount of wheat to sell for export, has been engaging in certain "future" operations on the Chicago Board of Trade, the world's leading grain market, just as any other big grain operator might do under similar circumstances. We do not understand that Mr. Hyde objects to the present method of grain marketing, and there is not the slightest reason for suggesting any sinister significance in a plain business transaction on the part of the Russian Government—which, by the way, acting through the same All Russian Textile Syndicate, has been buying our cotton and machinery. Mr. Hyde does himself small credit in attempting to attribute to Russian machinations responsibility for present wheat prices. If he doesn't know better, he certainly ought to.

OF THE ELECTION of Frank B. Kellogg to the World Court there is little to be said except that the Europeans are glad to have an American among the judges —any American. Mr. Kellogg made his reputation a generation ago as a trust-buster in the good old Roosevelt days, and he has combined law and politics in all the years since. The accidents of politics sent him to be Ambassador to the Court of St. James's and brought him back to be Secretary of State, in which capacity he made a record of blundering ineptitude and indirection that kept intelligent Americans laughing when they were not blushing. By a further accident the Pact of Paris bears his name. No one pretends that he has any profound knowledge of that difficult body of learning that makes up international law, or that he has any other special qualifications for the responsible position to which he has just been chosen. From John Bassett Moore through Charles Evans Hughes to Frank B. Kellogg—we have gone steadily downward. It is not by such a choice as this that the value and the authority of the World Court are to be enhanced.

THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE of the last week of the primary contests was the overwhelming victory of the La Follette progressive Republicans in Wisconsin. Philip La Follette was nominated for governor by a majority of 110,000 votes over Governor Kohler. The Progressives will control both houses of the legislature, both United States Senatorships, and probably nine out of Wisconsin's eleven Congressional seats, instead of the eight that they now hold. There has been much talk of "the magic of the La Follette name," but the substantial fact is that the two brothers of this generation are fighting honestly and ably for the same democratic principles that animated their father during his entire public life, and that the Wisconsin voters once more have overwhelmingly recorded their approval of the progressive ideas and policies that have given the State distinction among our commonwealths. By contrast with Wisconsin, Massachusetts has just held a meaningless Republican primary resulting in the nomination of ex-Senator William M. Butler by a trifling plurality over Eben S. Draper. Mr. Butler ran as a dry and will be opposed for election by a wet Democrat, Marcus A. Coolidge, of Fitchburg. Governor Allen, who has been renominated by the Republicans, is also a dry and will be opposed by a wet Democratic candidate, Joseph B. Ely. There may be a clear-cut fight over prohibition in November, but the question has a way of getting itself much complicated with other issues.

THE SOLEMN FARCE of the Tariff Commission is now being put on the boards. In addition to Henry P. Fletcher, earlier appointed chairman, the President has now named to membership Thomas Walker Page, former

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chairman, Alfred Dennis and Edgar B. Brossard, members, and John Lee Coulter, chief economist, of the old board, leaving one vacancy still to be filled. Messrs. Page and Coulter are good appointees, and Mr. Dennis is relatively unobjectionable, though the degradation of the old commission in recent years has been such that its whole membership has become more or less suspect. Mr. Brossard has been Senator Smoot's handy man, "scientific" defender of beet sugar. The reorganized commission will now get to work, having before it requests for changes in rates on some ninety commodities, on fifty-four of which field investigations are already under way. Agents will collect information at home and abroad, and there will be hearings and documents and reports, and then—let that tariff expert Calvin Coolidge tell the rest of the story: "When careful research . . . showed rates were too low, with the exception of some agricultural schedules, flexibility was abandoned by its former sponsors. New investigations will probably reveal about the same conditions." Of course they will. Rates are always too low, but after all the Tariff Commission is a rather cumbersome and expensive means of jacking them up.

DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION by the United States of the new governments in Argentina and Peru came rapidly once the ball had been set rolling, and even Bolivia, which has been outside the fold since its revolutionary upset last June, was included in the announcement on September 17 that diplomatic relations would be resumed the next day. Secretary of State Stimson, in making public the news, emphasized the fact that in each of the three countries a de facto government was firmly in the saddle, and that each had made clear its intention "to fulfil its respective (*sic*) international obligations and to hold in due course elections to regularize its rule"; hence recognition did not represent "any new policy or change of policy by the United States toward the nations of South America or the rest of the world." When some curious correspondents insisted upon asking how the step accorded with the Hughes policy of withholding recognition from revolutionary governments that might be set up in certain Central American states, Mr. Stimson replied that the treaty of 1923 was not signed by the United States but represented the wish of the five Central American signatories, although Mr. Hughes had declared that the United States was "in the most hearty accord" with it. Mr. Stimson's course is presumably simon-pure international law, but it is also first-rate diplomatic hokum. What it means is simply that the United States plays the game one way with a group of small states too weak to refuse whatever Washington may demand, and another way with states much farther off that are quite able to stand alone.

PREMIER TARDIEU has just given the latest demonstration of how to make a big increase in public expenditure and yet reduce taxation slightly. The French budget of 50,100,000,000 francs for 1931-32, just approved by the Cabinet, contains increases of 1,000,000,000 francs for civil expenditure and 725,000,000 for military purposes. By a broadening of sinking-fund operations, however, the budget provision for the public debt service is to be nearly 2,000,000,000 francs less than during the preceding year, when the sinking fund was in receipt of 2,000,000,000 francs from the budget surplus. In other words, an apparent decrease in taxation despite increased expenditure is made possible by an actually lessened provision for the discharge of the public debt—which is nothing very new in public finance. In addition to the war debts which France owes to the United States and Great Britain there is an internal debt which on July 31, 1928, stood at 275,000,000,000 francs, a heavy burden in spite of the devaluation of the franc. Notwithstanding its reputation for sound financial policy the French government has never made any serious effort at the reduction of its public debt, and M. Tardieu appears to be walking faithfully in the footsteps of his predecessors.

THE GERMAN REICH still lives notwithstanding the shock of fascist and Communist success in the recent election, and alarmist predictions of the approaching downfall of parliamentary government appear to have been somewhat premature. Adolf Hitler, leader of the fascists, has hastened to announce that "ours is not a physical revolution but a revolution of the intellect, and for us Parliament is only a means to an end"—which, being interpreted, seems to mean that Herr Hitler will accept the parliamentary regime for the time being and wait to see what happens. Chancellor Brüning's Cabinet, meantime, has decided to stick and let the new Reichstag settle its fate. The political problem of the immediate future, accordingly, simmers down to a question of what the Socialists will do. If the Socialists decide to enter a moderate or bourgeois coalition, the combination can withstand the fascists and Communists even if those two antagonistic parties should act together; but if the Socialists hold aloof no one can predict what may happen. The French nationalist press, as was to be expected, is alive with apprehension, and the new budget, it is reported, will carry large additional sums for "security." American and English bankers appear to be of the opinion that while the new fascist strength may lead eventually to some action looking to a readjustment of reparations, German financial standing is not yet imperiled and a political revolution is not yet to be feared.

THE ONLY PRACTICAL ANSWER to a program of aggressive militarism is that offered by the Defense Minister of Denmark, in urging that Denmark proceed at once with its policy of complete disarmament as a result of the fascist victory in Germany. "Present conditions do not offer us a shade of security," said Mr. Rasmussen. "They are a threat to Denmark's neutrality, which we can preserve only if we get rid of armed forces entirely." These words ought to be inscribed in large letters over the desk of every Big-Navy man and largest-army advocate and national-security champion in every country of the world. For if they are true of a small, relatively poor nation, they are, strangely enough, doubly true of nations with millions of men and money at their command in a race for armaments. It is a race which can be won only by not competing. There is no limit beyond which an ambitious rival may not reach, no navy large enough to resist the combination of other navies, no army so powerful that it may not be outstripped in a moment of national crisis, whether real or manufactured, by the army of another Power, with its allies. If this simple fact could only be realized by the peoples of the world, how much time and treasure might be saved!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE STRIKES IN SPAIN appear to be mainly economic in origin, starting with disputes over wages and spreading under the influence of a sharp drop in the exchange value of the peseta. Back of the labor disturbances, however, is a churning political situation which may at any moment develop into a revolt against the government. Ever since the downfall of Primo de Rivera the policy of Premier Berenguer has worked, not in the direction of political freedom and republican institutions, but toward the solidification of the naturally conservative forces of the country. As a result, apparently, of the strikes and the currency debacle, the labor unions have agreed to work with the Socialists at the coming elections, and intellectual liberals who can afford to take the risk are again speaking out. The lifting of the seven years' censorship (in reality only a substitution of less drastic regulation) has been followed by a severe attack upon the Duke of Alba, the "sartorial boast" of Spain, as he has been called by the Jesuit newspaper *El Debate,* which asks "Has Spain a Minister of State?" and openly charges the Duke with deserting his office and spending his time in traveling about the Continent. The monarchy does not appear to be in any immediate danger.

FIVE MILLION SLAVES in the world! The fact comes as a shock to most Americans, who somehow think that chattel slavery came to an end with their own Civil War. The Anti-Slavery Society, in whose interest Lady Simon lately spoke in this country, constantly stirs public opinion to the enormity of this continuing crime, and the League of Nations has secured adhesion to the Anti-Slavery Convention from nearly thirty nations, including the United States. All these nations are now pledged to "the abolition of slavery in all its forms." Abyssinia, one of the signatories, is among the greatest of the nineteen important slave areas in the world, and American attention has recently been called sharply to conditions there by the contract made by the Abyssinian government with the J. G. White Company of New York for the construction of a $30,000,000 dam across the headwaters of the Blue Nile. It was charged that slave labor was to be used on this undertaking, but in reply to the public clamor Gano Dunn, president of the J. G. White Company, has given assurances not only that slave labor will not be used, but that every effort will be made to guarantee labor conditions satisfactory even to the critics. The Anti-Slavery Society and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who gave publicity to the Abyssinian situation, deserves public thanks.

SIX MEN OF DISTINCTION, highly respected in the South as well as in other parts of the country, make up a newly appointed commission to investigate recent lynchings and to formulate a detailed report on their causes as well as to devise a working program of prevention. The six men are George Fort Milton, editor of the Chattanooga *News,* chairman, Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, Julian Harris of the Atlanta *Constitution* and formerly editor of the Columbus *Enquirer-Sun,* Alexander W. Spence, lawyer, of Dallas, Texas, Dr. W. P. King, Methodist minister and editor, of Nashville, Tennessee, and Dr. W. J. McGlothin, president of Furman University and president of the Southern Baptist Convention. With them will be associated four well-known Negro educators, Dr. Moton of Tuskegee, John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk, and B. F. Huber, president of the Georgia State College of Savannah. The commission will have the cooperation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. It will have, too, the good wishes of every intelligent Negro and of every friend of the Negro among the white race. The *Crisis* published in its October issue a flashlight photograph of two Negroes hanging from a limb in Marion, Indiana. Not the pitiful dangling forms of the lynched, but the laughing spectators that got into the picture should strike terror into the hearts of the beholder. The new commission would do well to ponder this photograph while making its report.

THE OPENING of the twenty-fifth year of the Rand School of Social Science in New York should not be allowed to pass without mention. Established and controlled by Socialists, the school has devoted its energies and its all too limited resources during a quarter century not to the propaganda of socialism in the narrow sense, but to the hard and thankless task of workers' education broadly conceived. Thousands of workers have profited from its courses, not only in socialism, economics, and labor, but in history, politics, psychology, philosophy, biology, literature, music, art, and other subjects. Its Labor Research Department issues, among other publications, the American Labor Yearbook, which has become indispensable to students in that field, and the library and lectures of the school have served great numbers who did not enter its regular courses. Like almost every other institution guilty of harboring an idea, the school was the object of governmental attack in the mad days following the war, but it emerged unscathed. In a field as abundantly strewn with wrecks as that of workers' education, it is a pleasure to see the Rand School planning for its quarter-centennial year a program the most extensive and the richest in its history.

JOHN ERSKINE, president of the Juilliard School of Music, made a rather surprising statement the other day in the course of an interview giving out the plans of the school for the coming year. Mr. Erskine was discussing European opera and its presentation, with all the furbelows of elaborate scenery, a splendiferous ballet, and grand-opera stars singing in a foreign tongue. "I see no future for it," he said, "and I don't think it has even a present." If there are any music lovers left in the audience at the Metropolitan —and one suspects that in the galleries at least there are many—this will sound mournfully upon their ears, and will not lack, moreover, a note of truth. Except in New York City, where it furnishes an occasion for an evening of social splendor and at the same time gives an opportunity to a large foreign population to hear their native tongue and their native music, grand opera finds small support in America, and subsidy for it is harder to obtain every year. It is a rare bird that the average citizen knows nothing about and cares less. The radio is daily spreading, along with its programs of heart songs, a knowledge of fine music among thousands of new listeners. A healthy American opera might catch its share of them, but not, one suspects, European opera with its preposterous plots, its tiresome recitative, and its remoteness from American culture and American life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grasping at Straws

THE governments of the world stand helpless in the presence of an industrial depression that they neither understand nor know how to cure. They move about, like men in a dream, inconsequentially trying this and that expedient, hoping vainly for a turn in the economic situation that will relieve them of an unwelcome responsibility and will enable them to claim credit for a change that they did not occasion. Most of their expedients, unhappily, are calculated to make matters worse rather than better, like the prescriptions of quack doctors who dose their patients without having any real understanding of their disease.

Most prominent among their dangerous nostrums is trade restriction in one form or another. The Parliament of Canada in a special session has just enacted an emergency tariff pushing up rates on 130 items, on the Premier's assurance that such action would mean the immediate absorption of at least 25,000 workers into the industries affected.

> We have taken those that are key industries [said Mr. Bennett], those where activity may be stimulated and employment given on a larger scale. We have secured the consumer against exploitation, and the result will do much to meet the emergent conditions for which this Parliament was called together.

It is a vain hope. Even if the immediate results were those that Mr. Bennett anticipates, the ultimate consequences would not be such as he desires.

Great Britain for ten long years since the bursting of the war boom has been wallowing in the trough of long-continued industrial depression. Today there are more than two million of her workers for whom she can find no occupation. More truly, perhaps, than any other people on earth, with the possible exception of the Dutch, the British understand something of the true relation between their trade and their prosperity. Yet, as Mr. Hobson points out elsewhere in this issue,

> Bankers, trade unions, politicians of every party have during the last few months been hastening to cut themselves adrift from their free-trade moorings, and to improvise new attitudes of trade policy, to deal with the terrible situation of a depression unexampled in the annals of British commerce.

Of their project of restoring prosperity by shutting up trade within empire limits, Mr. Hobson remarks sententiously: "No more foolish notion has ever entered the British mind."

On the Continent, the struggling new nations and the beset older ones in an exacerbated nationalism have shoved tariffs up and up and hobbled trade more and more in a vain attempt to assure prosperity by exclusion, despite the protests of economists, statesmen, financiers, and intelligent business men. Today, hope of relaxation seems more remote than ever. The Germans, mocked and devastated by the monstrous injustices growing out of the Treaty of Versailles, have in the recent election turned in great numbers to the parties of extreme nationalism and no-compromise. Italy is in the grip of fascist reaction.

Now if anything is clear, it is that prescriptions like these cannot cure our industrial ills. Carry nationalism in trade and industry to the extreme limit in all countries if you will. You set certain of the unemployed in each country to work in its establishments, only to put out of a job others who formerly produced the goods that paid for its imports; and the last end is worse than the first, because in a world that now profits immensely by using the special advantages of each country to some extent for the advantage of all, you shut up each nation to its own limited resources. You do not cure unemployment, and you do greatly cut down the amount of wealth produced.

If governments really want to attack unemployment, they have available a body of experience and scientific findings to indicate the lines of action. In a letter to the New York *Times* outlining the important studies being undertaken at Swarthmore under the direction of Professor Paul H. Douglas, Mr. Jacob Billikopf summarizes such lines of action under three heads: (1) The stabilization of employment; (2) the furthering of efficient placement; (3) the working out of effective systems of protecting those workers who will continue to be unemployed. Such a program involves tasks of coordination and cooperation, not only between central and local governments, but between government and private industry, that may well prove beyond the power of existing governments to achieve. Yet they must be achieved, or the governments are doomed. Thoughtful believers in our Western civilization will ponder the concluding words of Professor Calvin B. Hoover's striking article in the current *Harper's:*

> If bourgeois civilization were to be entirely supplanted by that of communism, the loss to the world would be incalculable. . . . But unless the capitalistic order can find ways and means to improve very measurably the standard of living of its lowest classes of laborers, and at the same time to reconcile the economic rivalries between nations, a militant and fanatic Russian communism will be hammering at the gates of Berlin by the end of the present decade.

The Russian challenge brings us to the heart of the whole matter. In their attempt at the nation-wide (not to say world-wide) economic organization that is necessary to industrial stabilization, the Russians have given up most of that economic freedom which we of the West know and prize. Whether they will thereby achieve economic stability remains to be seen. We face the vastly more difficult task of stabilization without surrender of freedom, a task that will strain the utmost resources of government plus cooperative industry. Behind us is a melancholy record of failure in efforts at stabilization of prices and production by private profit-making industry, both with and without government aid—rubber, steel, wheat, sugar, coffee, tin, nitrates, diamonds, silk, camphor, pulpwood, coal, and so on. In the attempt to stabilize finance through the Federal Reserve system, we substituted organized cooperative action for public ends in place of individual bank action for private profit. Let governments learn the lesson, and as they value all that is good in our Western life, let them press on to lead in the task of organizing industry so that it shall actually be able to feed and clothe the hungry and naked.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Without the Law

EVENTS which have been happening of late in the magistrates' courts of New York City serve only as reminders that all over the country law enforcement is in the hands of persons who fail at almost every point to observe the laws they are placed in office to uphold. The American Bar Association has just received a report from a committee appointed to look into the matter of the lawless enforcement of law. And the committee starts out by declaring flatly: "We can only say that the 'third degree' in the sense of rigid and severe examination of men under arrest by police officers or prosecuting attorneys or both is in use almost everywhere if not everywhere in the United States."

This, of course, is a sweeping statement, and statistics to support it are not at present forthcoming. The committee draws its conclusions more from the evidence of isolated cases in very many sections of the country than from documented figures of the actual number of prisoners so examined, or the actual methods of examination. But if, after making a careful survey, such a committee reaches such a conclusion, public opinion should be sufficiently aroused either to make a more extended and more complete investigation or to proceed, on the basis of ample information already at hand, to put a stop to such a state of affairs. The third degree, of course, is only part of the story. Our whole method of arrest and detention of prisoners before trial should be thoroughly aired and revised. The Chicago method of wholesale arrest on suspicion is prevalent enough in other parts of the country, and is without justification in law. Entry and search of dwellings without warrant is equally common, as is holding prisoners without charge and without permission to see counsel or friends—usually while some form of the third degree is practiced. Our laws provide that a prisoner is to be brought before a court without unnecessary delay; while he is held, the accused is presumed innocent and entitled to counsel and to humane and decent treatment. But our practice is woefully otherwise.

The committee attempts to elucidate the reasons for the toleration, in police stations and jails, of the third degree and of holding prisoners incomunicado. Our police, they declare, face the difficult task of enforcing law among a people of extreme heterogeneity, with no fixed abode, with no system of registration or identification, in an enormous geographical area. We are, moreover, by tradition a lawless people. The frontier is with us still, and we use lynch law not only to deal with the Negro but to keep the underworld in subjection. And at the same time that we use short cuts to enforce the law, we impose more laws than any other civilized country. England admittedly enforces its laws better than we do; but in England the police do not have to take up their time with laws against gambling, narcotics, and the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. Most significant of all, the average police officer is convinced that if he does not bring his prisoner in with a complete confession, the prisoner will slip through the wide open meshes of the courts. Court procedure is slow and careless; judges are not incorruptible; court clerks are notoriously susceptible to "influence." And public opinion is indifferent to laxity and corruption in the courts and actually approves of police violence, provided it finds culprits for the more spectacular crimes.

There we have the crux of the matter. Yet there is no body of sound and enlightened public opinion to protest against such a state of affairs. If the third degree were unpopular with the citizenry at large it would not be tolerated by heads of police departments; and orders from their chief would soon put a stop to violence on the part of individual policemen. The recent scandals in New York City indicate that the entire local judiciary wants overhauling, that a disconcerting number of judges are open to every sort of bribe, whether of money or of power. The magistrate's job in New York City is fast turning into a racket. It is so in many other parts of the country. And instead of rising in wrath to protest, the average American citizen skips the local scandal in his morning paper and turns to the sporting page instead. "A few months ago," says the bar association committee,

> policemen in a certain city made two egregious blunders in breaking into houses without warrants. . . . Then the police commissioners made an order that the officers obtain search warrants before breaking into dwellings. Whereupon a large and potent factor of the public at once urged the revocation of the order.

There is no more culpable body of citizens in this matter than the various bar associations, and it is good to see the American Bar Association committee frankly admitting this fact and urging a concerted and vigorous protest by those men who, in the daily practice of the profession, know best that the law is enforced unlawfully. If the bar associations lead, others will follow. And we shall gradually build up a defense against one of the worst threats to our civilization.

Colleges and Culture

OF the hundreds of presidential or other addresses that will mark the opening of the colleges this fall, very few, we venture to guess, will fail to express the hope that 1930-31 may be a "banner year." Nor will the nature of the hoped-for distinction be left in doubt, for the assembled students, faculty, trustees, and friends are certain to be reminded once more of the glories of numbers, games, buildings, endowments, and other tangible evidences of educational progress. In the prevailing state of the academic mind in this country, such matters appear to be regarded as about the only ones that can be relied upon to hold the attention of undergraduates, refresh the loyalty of alumni, keep professors up to the mark, and incline the rich and benevolent to reach for their checkbooks; and since American colleges seem destined, on the whole, to draw larger and larger numbers and hence to need more "plant" and money, the time-honored inspirational arguments cannot very well be left out of the opening programs.

Not many things, certainly, are more inspiring than the spectacle of a body of students and teachers setting out to put their college over the top, and we are all for banners and records wherever what is gained is worth while. We cannot help wishing, however, that the pursuit of statistical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conquests might be accompanied this year by equally zealous efforts in some other directions. The American college has come in of late for a vast amount of destructive criticism. One of its most serious problems, that of purging the applicants for admission of those who are unfit and for whom a college course would be a waste of time, is discussed by Professor Howard of Northwestern University elsewhere in this issue. There are other evils as serious as that which admission officers are struggling to get rid of. It has been pointed out again and again, for example, that the quality of teaching in most colleges is extremely poor, that many college lecturers are clumsy performers at that business, that specialization is encouraged at the cost of general culture, and that faculty influence, which presumably ought to be determining in educational matters, wanes yearly before the growing powers of presidents, deans, and governing boards.

It would be futile to challenge any of these allegations. It is matter of common knowledge, in college circles at least, that many classes are far too large to admit of effective teaching, and that the sections into which exceptionally large classes are commonly divided are relegated, more often than not, to the charge of young instructors or graduate students most of whom have had no pedagogical training and many of whom admittedly have no pedagogical interest. The slow progress of the tutorial system, while obviously due in part to the considerable expense involved, is also attributable in no small measure to faculty indifference and persistence in old-fashioned ways. The lure of professional or business interest, again, joined to a supposed public demand for an education that is "practical," has led an increasing number of colleges to offer to undergraduates in the last two years highly specialized groups of courses intended to prepare for a later study of law, medicine, engineering, or business. There is slender reason for thinking that this premature specialization has improved the quality of work in professional schools, but the effect upon culture, upon that development of the mind in spaciousness and depth and facility which marks the educated man or woman, has certainly been disastrous.

It would be expecting too much to look for wholesale reformation, in the course of one short year, at all the points at which the college has been attacked. Teachers who cannot teach will still go through the forms of teaching, and we shall continue to hear complaints of the autocracy of presidents, the stupidity of governing boards, and the light esteem shown for faculty opinion. There will doubtless be the usual crop of academic-freedom cases, pathetic reminders that the American college is not yet intellectually free and that between the professor and the public a great gulf remains fixed. There will be eager scrutiny, on the other hand, of any evidence that the intellectual life of the colleges is being seriously attended to and its right of intellectual leadership asserted and recognized. Assuredly it is not the function of the college to train technicians or experts, or even to steer its students in that direction. Its proper business is to raise the general level of culture in the community by preparing a soil in which ideas may find a favoring growth. Not until this task has been performed will the great work of teaching be held in honor, or executive autocracy be curbed, or the professor be allowed freely to speak his mind. We should like to see 1930-31 a banner year for culture in every American college.

What Is an Amateur?

EARLY in September the national amateur tennis championship matches were held at Forest Hills. The following week the professional tennis championship matches were held there. A stranger, not noticing any marked difference in the quality of the play, would have been struck forcibly by the difference in the size of the audience. He would have found the stadium crowded at $3 a seat for the amateur matches, and almost empty at $2.50 a seat for the professional matches. And he might be excused for concluding that the real difference, in tennis as in football, was that the word "amateur" had a higher commercial value than the word "professional."

If our outsider began to look into the distinction more curiously, he might suppose, naively, that a professional was a man who gave all his time to the game, who made it his main business in life, whereas an amateur was a man whose main business was something else, and who could play tennis only at odd moments. Our naive outsider would be somewhat surprised at the facts. He would learn that the leading amateur players spend virtually the entire year at various tennis tournaments. He would learn that in January they were playing in various indoor tournaments, in February and March at Bermuda and in Florida, in April at Pinehurst and White Sulphur, in May at Chevy Chase, in June at Wimbledon, in July at Longwood, Kansas City, and Seabright, and in successive weeks of August at Southampton, Westchester, Newport, and Chestnut Hill, till they were finally in shape for the September national championships at Forest Hills. If he kept following the movements of the players he would trace them at Hot Springs and White Sulphur in October, and in California and Mexico in November and December. Meanwhile he would learn that the leading professional players had only one real tournament, and for the rest of the year were too busy teaching the game to others to find time to perfect their own.

Our outsider might finally decide that the real distinction between the professional and the amateur was that the latter was not allowed to take any money for his playing. He would be impressed with the strictness of the lawn-tennis authorities in preventing the amateur not only from making money by playing tennis but even from making it by currently writing about tennis. He might think this possibly a snobbish discrimination in favor of gentlemen with independent incomes. In this he would be mistaken. An amateur player who once gets into the "first twenty" can usually succeed in having his "expenses" paid pretty liberally. And our outsider would find, also, this curious situation: the audience at these amateur events is not made up of friends admitted by invitation; it is made up of people who have been charged what the traffic will bear. A single day's tennis match will bring in as high as $40,000. But if the players, who really attract the audience there, are caught taking as much as $5 in direct payment, they are ostracized as professionals. What, our naive outsider might ask, is the difference between this arrangement and that, for example, of allowing Mr. Earl Carroll to continue to charge for seats what he charges now, while permitting him self-righteously to outlaw any actor demanding a cent of salary?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Comrade Broun

By FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

WHEN Heywood Broun announced his candidacy for Congress from the Seventeenth District on the Socialist ticket, he voiced his opinion, in what those who know him call the publicity of his home circle, that maybe the New York *Telegram* might object to his candidacy, especially a Socialist candidacy. "I might lose my job," said Broun, "on the *Telegram,* and then the radio people might not like my socialism either, and I might get fired by them, too." "Well," said his son, who is now twelve, "after you got fired from the *World,* we lived on *The Nation* for six months, and we could do it again."

Of course, Broun did not believe that a Scripps-Howard newspaper would fire him just for being a candidate on the Socialist ticket. Broun, divorced or cast aside by the *World* for alleged disloyalty, was picked out of the gutter by Mr. Roy W. Howard; Mr. Roy W. Howard made an honest man of Broun. And Mr. Roy Howard could not fire him for his candidacy without having everybody say, "I told you not to take up with this crook." Well, P. S., he kept his *Telegram* job and his radio job.

And yet what does Boss Howard say about Broun? "Broun," said Mr. Howard, "is no mere jokesmith or phrase-carpenter, but an artistic debunker of political and official flapdoodle. Even so, we believe that as a factor in things political he can be more effective on the outside looking in, more forceful in type than in talk, more constructive in a column than in Congress." In order to put Mr. Howard right about Broun, let me tell him that Broun is a poor jokesmith and not much of a phrase-carpenter. He does like a joke as well as the Next Fellow, and if he likes it well enough he will use it; he will do well with a phrase, his own or another's. He is a good debunker of any kind of pretentiousness—political, official, or literary. He hates it so much that he dresses carelessly and sketchily because a man may be a fop and a villain still; he is the sort of man who would wear three hats in an elevator full of women because he knows that some men consider their entire duty and responsibility to women discharged when they remove their hats in an elevator. Broun hates bunk so much that it must sicken him to have his boss use that No Mere Jokesmith stuff. It probably sickened Mark Twain when he read it, and when he heard it at banquets. It must have sickened Finley Peter Dunne and nauseated George Ade. For it generally is said by ponderous toastmasters who know that Humor Has Its Place, and whose notion of humor is the ability to laugh at a comical anecdote. These lads do not know that it is humor like Broun's that makes him writhe at injustice and unfairness; that makes him hate hypocrisy. It is humor like Broun's that makes him hate these traits, or manifestations of hodiernal civilization, ineffably more than he hates the possessors of these traits. Bitter as is his scorn for the things that John S. Sumner stands for, he is capable of having a good time with Sumner, and of thinking that he is a decent and companionable fellow. He hated the alleged (I have a living to make, and Broun was fired from the *World* for alleged disloyalty expressed in a piece that he wrote for *The Nation*) inconsistency and intolerance that caused Ralph Pulitzer to fire him, with a public spanking. But he liked Ralph Pulitzer well enough, not long after the spanking, to accept dinner invitations to his house. In justice to Ralph Pulitzer, it may be said that he liked Broun well enough to extend such invitations to a former employee who he thought had been disloyal to him and to the paper, and whom he wouldn't have reemployed if Broun had been willing to work for nothing.

Not that I know Broun. I was his office mate for eight or nine years on the so-called capitalistic *Tribune,* and for six years on the so-called liberal *World.* I saw him nearly every day during that time, and many nights. I have known him for years; come to think of it, I was best man at his wedding—the best, that is, that he could get on short notice. But I know little about him except a few facts. I cannot reduce them to their lowest terms; for Broun does not resolve into the ordinary prime factors of human relationship.

He dislikes Coolidge and Hoover, for instance. If he met them he would be extremely polite to them. Probably he would confide to his intimates that he didn't like them, but they would like him. For he has two assets that do not necessarily elect a man to public office, but make him hard to resist in personal contact. They are charm and humor. In such high degree is he possessed of these that if he could make a house-to-house canvass of voters in the Seventeenth District, I think that there would be a Broun landslide in November.

Broun has made speeches telling what he would do if elected. In the New York *American* he has answered the questions of what he would do if he were Representative, Mayor, and President. They were good enough, and they were brief; but I take no stock in them. He might do some of those things, and he mightn't. But we of the Thanatopsis Literary and Inside Straight Club have seen Comrade Broun too often take his enormous chair at the table, and say that the last round was to be played at 1 o'clock, and at six in the morning say that we might as well play an hour longer. And that is how it would be in Congress with Broun.

Broun would carry the same curiosity to Congress that permeates his daily work. His first day in Congress would be a tremendous adventure, a tremendous romance, that every one of his readers would share. For never think that he would divorce his political from his columnistic life. Broun, like most daily column writers, must write about what he is doing and thinking on the day he is writing his stuff. Broun could not help telling what he thought of the daily job of a Representative. My guess is that he would say it was a sinecure compared with any other job he ever had held. He would describe the day of a Representative, and probably would make a speech in favor of his maiden bill. That bill might easily be a bill to abolish the word Gentleman as outworn and Victorian, and hereafter he would be known as the Fellow from New York. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bill would be lost, but they would listen to Broun down there, and I can imagine his telling us in print that he got more [Laughter] per sentence than anybody else who ever had stuff in the *Congressional Record*.

And then, after Broun got what he might term the long ear of the House, he would slide a serious campaign crusade or two down the greased ways. It is possible that he could do more about unemployment and the alleviation of the woes of poverty than anybody in the House who ever tried such a thing. For while there are things about the history of unemployment that he might not know, he would command and accept the advice of the country's best liberal minds. I think that there are many wise men and powerful men who would help Broun do important work in Congress. And I know that he knows infallibly the difference between a crank and a passionate adherent of a cause. He can tell blindfolded, as most newspapermen can tell, an ax-grinder. I think that he would not be taken in by that numerous crowd. I should think that the Socialist Party would be as rich in ax-grinders as the Democratic or the Republican.

And they would point to Broun's habits, many of which are not in the Socialistic tradition. They would point to his membership in the Racquet Club and the Lambs Club. They might demand his bank book and his check book, which would show that this Socialist candidate often has won or lost as much in a single session of poker as the average annual wages of an American family. They would show that Broun's combined salaries and emoluments from the New York *Telegram,* the radio, *The Nation,* and various magazine pieces would not be a sum less than $50,000, and if they were adroit, the headlines on the scandal story would probably read Broun's Wage Tops Hoover's. And Broun would enjoy that, for he is highly acquisitive about money, earns a lot of it, and seldom has more than one week's salary in the bank. Nobody knows what he does with his money. To look at him you would say that $300 a year for clothing, including laundry, pressing, and dry-cleaning expenses, would be a liberal quota. Yet going to a party and finding no available shirt in the drawer, he will send a messenger boy to an Eighth Avenue shop, pay $5 in tips for a $2 soft shirt, and charter a car or take a taxi to the dinner party which may be forty miles from home. The car or the cab might wait for him till midnight, or if there were a poker game on and he were a loser, till three or four in the morning. Those things do not account for all that money, but those engaging and attractive habits of unthrift and indolence, at compound interest, can unleash $50,000 a year with the owner still looking like a 1904 Puck picture of a Socialist.

If, as even Mr. Dwight Morrow says, we are all more alike than we are willing to admit, I would vote for Broun on the ground that he as a Representative from New York would make life—political, literary, journalistic—much richer and more tolerable. I think that he would alleviate distress. I do not believe that Broun is filled with passionate and fanatic love of humanity, but he has something that as a champion of a cause is far more valuable than that, take it from anybody who ever has sat at a poker table with him. He won't quit until he wins.

I would vote for him because he is the most shamefully unreticent man I know. I would vote for him because I want to see a column of his that begins, "They have pretty dull dinners at the White House," or "My new boss, Nicholas Longworth, is the best Socialist in Washington." In short, because there would be a little electricity in a Washington date line. And because I would like to prove that this "Of course, he never could be elected" thing is the falsest, silliest, most unprogressive of all Famous Stop Signals.

The British Imperial Conference

By JOHN A. HOBSON

London, September 12

THE Imperial Conference in London, opening on September 30, proposes, according to the statement of the Prime Minister, to discuss "all matters of common interest to the members of the British Commonwealth under the following heads: (1) Inter-imperial relations, (2) foreign policy and defense, (3) economic questions."

Under the first two heads come a variety of political issues, not to be regarded as of vital importance. If logic, indeed, were accepted as an instrument of politics, the British Empire is a hopeless structure. It is a ramshackle, amorphous creature that has grown up, or come together, without any intelligible plan or purpose. It covers about one-fifth of the land surface of the globe and about one-quarter of its population. Scattered over all four continents and every ocean, it consists of every sort of climate and soil. Only sixty-six and a half millions out of its total population of 450 millions are white, the rest are colored peoples of various types and races, three-quarters of whom reside in India. The only political bond between these various lands and peoples is that furnished by adhesion to the British Crown. Their relation to that Crown, however, varies greatly and indefinitely. First come the dominions and Great Britain itself. They may be said to stand on an equal footing in the imperial structure. According to the Imperial Conference of 1926, "They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." This sounds intelligible enough, and doubtless expresses as nearly as possible the reality of the situation, but not the form. The dominions have not the full constitutional powers possessed by the British Government itself. They are formally limited in their legislative powers by the acts framing their respective constitutions, which give the Privy Council and the Crown itself certain powers of disallowance and of reservation, and disable the dominions from amending their constitutions without the consent of the British Government. Even this statement, however, is not equally applicable to all. Mr. Fifoot, writing in the current *Fortnightly Review,* tells us: "The Union

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of South Africa and the Irish Free State enjoy, under the terms of their incorporating acts, almost unfettered power of constitutional amendment; Australia and New Zealand, though their powers are considerable, may yet operate only within defined limits, while the Dominion of Canada is incapable of proceeding at all without the legal support of the English Parliament." There is, however, very little substance in these restrictions, and it may be questioned whether even an act of secession, on the part of the Irish Free State or the Union of South Africa, would bring into operation any forcible sanction under the Colonial Laws Validity Act. There is no disposition on the part of Great Britain to question the equality of status of the dominions with Great Britain itself. But foreign policy raises some issues of moment. So does the question of the settlement of differences between the equal partners. Empire defense still exhibits difficulties. For, though each dominion may reserve its right to participate in a war entered by Great Britain, or a fellow-dominion, the enemy may take a different view of the unity of the empire. If, as it is reasonable to maintain, imperial sentiment, which operated so vigorously in the late war, will be likely to operate in any future war, some concerted measures of defense and some consideration of a united foreign policy are essential. For, though the recent tendency has been toward an ever wider autonomy of the dominions, there is little ground for a belief that any of them will seek to "cut the painter." An alliance of free states marks the reality of the new situation, and some foreign policy for this alliance must be concerted.

But here a new difficulty enters. Most of the troubles with which Great Britain is confronted relate to the "unfree" portion of her empire. There is, first and foremost, India and the entanglement of its internal and external relations, a subject far too complex for discussion here. India, as we see, is in area and population by far the largest part of the empire. But not one of the dominions will consent to take any responsibility for the government of India, or for the settlement of any of the foreign policy connected therewith. They take the same position toward the rest of our empire, the crown colonies, protectorates, and mandates, for which our government is responsible. It is difficult to see how any reliable and adequate policy of imperial defense, or any common foreign policy, can emerge from such a situation.

Popular interest will be concentrated upon empire trade relations and economic problems of capital investments and oversea settlement. Though empire free trade is a project which no dominion will consent to look at, some scheme for empire development and preferential trading is certain to take the first place at the conference. Astonishing events in England have prepared the way. Bankers, trade unions, politicians of every party have during the last few months been hastening to cut themselves adrift from their free-trade moorings and to improvise new attitudes of trade policy, to deal with the terrible situation of a depression unexampled in the annals of British commerce. The plain protectionism which for a long time past has held the adhesion of the Unionist Party has been crossed by an imperialism that renders a "scientific tariff" impossible. But this economic difficulty does not deter the pursuit of a general tariff with an empire preference. More significant is the capture of influential economists and politicians in the Liberal and Labor camps. The orthodox free-trade logic made no allowance for unemployment except as a necessary waste in the changes of industrial processes. General unemployment throughout the industrial world, exhibiting a productive power in excess of effective demand, was to the Cobdenite an impossibility. But the impossible has happened. There is, therefore, a growing disposition among business men, and even economists, to consider proposals for the replacement of the foreign markets which have been lost to us by the successful competition of Germany and the United States, and the new European tariffs, by a concerted development of imperial markets. Our empire is to send us a larger part of the foods and raw materials which we require and to take from us a larger part of the surplus manufactures we can produce. On paper the project can be made plausible enough. Vast areas of our empire remain as yet undeveloped. Let British capital available for export be diverted to this work, and our emigrable excess of population go to do it. Let the dominions give us enlarged preference, or a practical monopoly for such manufactured goods as they cannot themselves produce. Let imperial research, transport, and communications be directed to the goal of an empire made as far as practicable self-sufficing. This project, or fantasy, has been made more desirable by the advance lately made toward a European federation, with the chief object of securing the common economic interests of its adherents. England cannot participate in such a union, and its proposal has served to render the formation of an imperial economic union more desirable.

No more foolish notion has ever entered the British mind. The value of our foods and raw materials imported from the empire has grown since 1913, but our foreign supplies still greatly exceed them. The food imports from the empire last year were 201 million pounds sterling as compared with 330 million from foreign countries; raw materials were 121½ million pounds sterling from the empire, 213 million from foreign countries. Certain essential materials, such as cotton, timber, iron ore, and petroleum are derived almost wholly from foreign sources. Even as regards foods, foreign supplies are incapable of replacement by empire supplies. Last year nearly three-quarters of our imported wheat, and most of our imported meat, came from foreign countries. Indeed, it is evident that any attempt to rely upon imperial resources would mean that we must pay more for an inferior and less secure supply. The reaction of such a policy upon our industries is obvious. Part of the protective policy is to enable our own farmers to grow wheat and other foods profitably, i.e., to get a higher price for them. Therefore it is not expected that the imperial supplies will compensate the loss of foreign supplies. Higher food prices and more costly materials will raise the cost of production in our mines, factories, and workshops, and the prices of their products must rise. This will operate most disastrously on our export trades, which are already outcompeted by cheaper continental products. Would the empire compensate this damage by buying more of our higher-priced manufactures? The supposition is ridiculous. Each dominion is bent upon developing its own industries behind a tariff wall high enough to exclude all effectual competition. It only buys what it is not yet prepared to produce. Countries like Canada and Australia set no limit to their industrial development. It is simply inconceivable that their demand for British manufactures should increase within the near future, so as to com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pensate us for the further loss of our foreign markets which would follow the adoption of this policy.

It would be interesting to follow the discussion which these proposals for closer economic union will arouse at the Imperial Conference. The idea that this country can afford to pour vast resources of capital into "the vacant spaces of the empire," and that the dominions will eagerly welcome millions of unemployed Britons into their countries for the great work of opening up new areas of agriculture and mining will hardly bear the ventilation outside the area of imperial sentiment which the business procedure of the conference will secure.

On the College Frontier

I. Who Ought to Go to College?*

By D. T. HOWARD

THIS question is as many-pointed as a chestnut burr. It can be formulated in a dozen ways and answered in a thousand. It is filled with implications that presuppose their answers. Who ought to go to college? Everybody. Nobody. Those who can't do anything else. Highbrows. Athletes. The chosen few. Answers can be had off-hand, ready-made, at no cost at all beyond the trouble of asking them.

There are only a few people, relatively, to whom our question is important. A problem is not apt to be taken seriously except by persons whose acts or attitudes would be modified by a proper solution. Who cares who ought to go to college? Intelligent parents, college faculties, and social scientists. We must limit our discussion in their favor. We may consider, first, the practical question, What students are likely to perform successfully in our colleges as they exist? Second, from the wider social point of view we may ask, What individuals, selected from our population as a whole, are most likely to achieve distinction in their college studies and benefit society through their later achievements? The second question is far the more difficult to answer, and the existing selection in fact takes place chiefly on the basis of the first criterion.

Consider the matter from the point of view of the college admissions officer. Only a few such are actually in a position to pick and choose as they will. Their practical problem is to select, among those secondary-school graduates who present themselves for admission to college, the individuals who may be expected to perform scholastically above the minimum requirements established by their faculties. College teachers have taken an active interest in this question, particularly within the past two decades. Since the Great War efforts have been redoubled because of the great influx of students that has made it necessary, in many institutions, to adopt some method of choosing the most likely prospects. Intelligent sifting and sorting presuppose reliable information. How can we learn about prospective students? From the secondary school, from alumni, and from various persons acquainted with the applicants we may secure some information about their scholastic, social, medical, and personal history; and by means of various tests, examinations, and interviews we may obtain further knowledge concerning their preparation, ability, and social circumstances. Three things especially must be taken into account in the search for capable students, namely, ability, interest, and opportunity.

Ability to do college work is conditioned by two principal factors: native intelligence and scholastic preparation. Native intelligence is nowadays expressed in terms of I. Q.'s (intelligence quotients) or scores of similar import, determined by various sorts of tests. The tests used nowadays by college admissions officers, variously known as "scholastic aptitude," "mental alertness," and "general intelligence" tests, are the best measure of native mental capacity that we have yet been able to devise for use in selecting students. The score made by a student is a highly serviceable index of his ability to do college work, but no competent admissions officer depends on these scores alone in deciding whether a student shall be admitted. Their proper use requires good technique and sound judgment; and when they are rightly used they show a high degree of correspondence with the actual attainments of students after admission. (Technically expressed, such tests show a correlation of + .50 to + .60 with scholastic performance, on a scale laid out from — 1.00 to + 1.00, — 1.00 indicating complete disagreement, and + 1.00 complete correspondence.)

The surest index of ability to do college work, however, appears to be the high-school record. A number of studies show correlations of + .60 between high-school and college performance. Suppose that the graduating class of the high school be divided, on the basis of scholastic record, into four quarters. We shall find that the great majority of students in the upper quarter succeed in college, and that almost none of the fourth-quarter students do creditable work. We find a steady decline of average performance from the first to the fourth quarter. The fourth-quarter student is a very poor risk, and third-quarter students are considered doubtful. Colleges that have a real opportunity to select do in fact choose mainly from the top quarter. Is high-school performance an index of native ability, or of scholastic preparation? It is not so good an index of native capacity, we are sure, as the mental test. A combination of the high-school record with the test score, several investigators have found, is better than either measure taken alone.

The matter of preparation was carefully looked into by our better colleges long before the advent of modern measures of capacity. Subject-matter or content examinations were the rule. Such examinations, which are still given by our more conservative institutions, are no doubt useful for determining the student's scholastic preparation for college; but within recent years they have been rapidly displaced by

* The first of a series of articles on educational experiments. The second, The Rollins Idea, by Hamilton Holt, will appear in the issue of October 8.—Editor The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"achievement tests," which are, in essence, standardized examinations of the "objective" type. Norms of performance can be established on the basis of thousands of cases, and the achievement of any individual can be compared with that of all others taking the tests. These tests have a tendency, moreover, to measure ability as well as knowledge, and they are very useful supplements to mental tests and high-school records in prognosticating a student's fitness for college work.

The student's ability, we are sure, can be measured very well, but we have no methods of comparable validity for gauging interest and opportunity. These factors, however, can not be neglected, for they account for a large percentage of scholastic failures.

Interest is a perplexing subject. What we know is that some students do study, and some do not; and we know a little about various factors, subjective and objective, which are held to account for the degree of interest exhibited by the student in his college work. From the practical point of view there are two things to be looked for: habituation and mental initiative. The student's record in high school is of course the best clue that we have to his habits of study. If, in addition, we can find that in the home and in social activities he has learned to regulate his affairs systematically, we have further evidence that he is likely to budget his time to good advantage while in college. Mental initiative or drive is very difficult to estimate and very important. We have in mind here such things as intellectual curiosity, the desire to find out what makes the machine go, the tendency toward originality and creativeness. Information on these points is, unfortunately, hard to obtain. The individual may have written poems, stories, essays, plays; he may have a consuming interest in radio, television, airships, or mechanics; he may have taken special courses, or traveled about in search of information, or in various ways may have exhibited a desire to know and to invent or create. We have good ground for believing that among such youngsters we may find the exceptional student who is capable of becoming intensely interested in his college studies.

Opportunity refers to objective factors which further or hinder the student's study activities. Financial difficulties are the most formidable. It is a fine thing for a young man to work his way through college, though very few really do work their own way completely. Without the aid of scholarships and loans few self-supporting students can make a go of it, and the student of poor preparation and low ability who has to work several hours each day to support himself is almost sure to fall by the wayside. On the other hand, an unusually bright student, of sound health and good poise, can often succeed surprisingly well. Sickness, as college teachers know, is a frequent excuse for poor performance. While there are many exceptions to be made in special cases, in general good health is a prerequisite to successful college work. Family troubles and social maladjustments of various sorts are also items to be reckoned with. In particular it is to be noted, in the continuing rush to the colleges, that students who go to college only because they are sent, whatever their ability, are apt to do poor work. In this whole field we are dealing with intangibles, but the wise admissions officer will play his "hunches" on the basis of such information as he can get.

In making his actual choice the responsible officer will select first the students of highest ability, and then narrow down to the group whose interests and opportunities seem most favorable to successful college performance. By careful sifting and sorting of this kind, a competent officer, given a wide range of selection, ought to manage to be right in 80 to 90 per cent of all cases. This is about the best we can do in selecting from among the candidates available the individuals most likely to succeed in college, taking the college as it stands without comment or criticism. It must be remembered that that institution is dependent on our secondary schools for all the material it receives, and that its range of selection is limited. Actually, any high-school graduate can enter college, for if one college will not take him, he can go to another. Many State universities are compelled to take in anybody who presents a high-school diploma, and the sifting and sorting go on in the freshman and sophomore years. More students drop out than continue, and a decided minority graduate. College faculties prefer to have this sifting and sorting done in the admissions office, and present indications are that their wishes in the matter will prevail.

And now we may briefly consider the larger question, What individuals, chosen from our whole population, are most likely to profit by college work and to benefit society through their training and achievements? Plainly this question reaches far beyond the relatively simple problem as to what students are likely to succeed in the colleges as they stand. For it raises the other question how far the colleges are actually doing the work properly to be expected of them in a modern democratic society, and how far they are managing to make their opportunities available to all those persons who from the general social point of view ought to enjoy them, and not simply to those who possess the irrelevant advantages of wealth and social station. Without going into the question of distribution of ability among classes, psychologists tell us that mental capacity is distributed in our population as a whole in accordance with what is known as the normal frequency curve, with a great number of persons of mediocre ability in the middle, and with the extremes tapering off to small numbers of those of high intellectual capacity at one end and those of distinct inferiority at the other. Despite the controversy that has raged over "mental tests," the best opinion of the present time is that if we followed our children throughout their school careers, testing, examining, observing, and checking at all points, it would be possible to rate their mental capacity with a high degree of certainty. Public opinion would undoubtedly be strongly averse to such a program, because of our conventions and traditions. Yet there can be no question that those young people who possess the greatest talent for mental work ought to be educated in science, literature, history, and philosophy. They at least ought to go to college.

How about those of us who are less talented? For my own part, considering conditions as they are, I am disposed to believe that anybody ought to go to college who really wants to. (I may remind the reader of what was said above about students who go to college only because they are sent.) Knowledge should be made available to everybody, free as light and air. But the social prestige that attends the colleges today brings to their gates tens of thousands whose real interest is not in intellectual things. If these institutions could be stripped of that false glamor, and if their proper intellectual function could be duly emphasized, the larger problem of who ought to go to college would be simplified, and the answer made more clear.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hamstringing the Mutuals

By J. G. CURTIS

POSSIBLY the most successful examples of cooperative enterprise in the United States are the mutual savings banks. They have in aggregate ten billion dollars of assets and they deal with twelve million steady customers. There are about 600 of them and a large proportion are considerably more than a century old. They have no stockholders, but belong instead to their depositors exclusively. They hold about one-fifth of all bank deposits in the country.

Their mutuality, it is true, is diluted by the fact that borrowers have no rights in them comparable to what depositors have, but this is one of numerous imperfections that do not offset their essential significance as cooperative enterprises. Instead, their general showing should make believers in such economic forms take heart, for if a cold-blooded business like banking can be carried on without private profits, why should not a number of other things be carried on that way? Unfortunately, the assurance is not very rosy. For the mutual savings banks, having come so far, are not as a matter of fact looming as bulwarks of enlarged cooperative enterprise. They are instead noticeably yielding before aggressive commercial banking operated for private gain. They are slowly diminishing in number. They are also diminishing in relative importance as holders of deposits, though individually many of them, particularly in the large cities, contrive to grow. On the whole, such prospect as they may have offered of making the world better is palpably on the wane.

The mutual savings banks, of course, have never been part of any genuine cooperative movement. They were first established in New England as semi-benevolences for the deserving poor, and practically all their strength is still there and in the North Atlantic States. A few are scattered in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast. They go by such well-known names as the Bowery Savings and the Emigrant Industrial in New York City, the two largest in the country, the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston, which is the oldest of all, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society of San Francisco and so on. On the whole they have been run by men whose principles were capitalistic, just as the great mutual insurance companies have been run. They have been interesting to such managers because they had an air of philanthropy and at the same time were serviceable in pooling popular savings into great and accessible reservoirs of inexpensive capital. Men of substance could well afford to act as their trustees and to run them as they have been run, strictly and safely. But insistence on their safety has been made an excuse for limiting their social utility, and has kept them from becoming real competitors of private institutions. They were a good means of collecting the savings of the deserving poor into sizable funds, but they must never be allowed to become anything more.

Thus one of the first measures taken to keep them from becoming dangerous to private enterprise was to limit the amount of money they could accept from one depositor. Various states have various limits; in New York it is $7,500; in Wisconsin $5,000. Considering for whom these banks were so kindly founded, nothing could be more reasonable than this limitation, for of course anyone with $5,000 in hard cash puts a strain on the vernacular when he crowds in with the deserving poor. The philanthropists felt that anybody with that much money should be directed instead to a commercial bank. So at the outset the mutual bank was confined to what was judged to be the least profitable field of banking.

Another measure to keep the mutuals from becoming dangerous was to hold down their dividend disbursements, which belong to their depositors, of course, since there are no stockholders. This policy has resulted in accumulating surpluses that never get back to their owners. The surpluses of all mutual savings banks aggregate $1,020,000,000; in 1929 the aggregate increase was $77,500,000. That addition came out of earnings on the depositors' money and hence it is theirs. Necessarily a surplus must be accumulated, but the principle followed seems to have been to accumulate not only what was needed, but all beside that the traffic would allow. For instance, some mutuals pay as much as 5 per cent, notably in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and that still allows them to make necessary additions to surplus. Now 5 per cent is more than privately owned commercial banks can afford to pay, principally because they have to earn dividends for their stockholders, and so it is to their interest so induce the savings-bank trustees (who half the time are commercial bankers themselves and so lack no inducement) to keep the rate of distribution low. Instead of paying 5 per cent, accordingly, the mutual pays 4 per cent, and the other 1 per cent of the depositors' money is each year put where the chances are a million to one he will never get it, though to be sure he is not wholly without benefit from its retention.

In many States there are provisions in the laws for increasing the disbursements of earnings when surpluses reach a certain percentage of the deposits. But this percentage is in some States so high as to be nugatory. In New York, for instance, where half the mutual deposits and half the mutual depositors in the whole country are, the mutuals need not increase their disbursements till the surplus is 25 per cent of the deposits. If a bank's deposits grow at all, its surplus will probably never reach 25 per cent. Of course, if deposits continue to decline, instead of making at least a secular growth, their surpluses would in time catch up. But aside from the point that even now under unfavorable prospects it seems improbable that that will occur very soon, it still remains that the framers of the legal requirement must have believed, from the evidence they had then, that they were setting a limit that would almost never be reached; so that those disbursements, much too generous for the good of the deserving poor and for the capacity of competing commercial banks to pay, would in turn never become mandatory. The second point is that a surplus amounting to 25 per cent of deposits is considerably more than what is expected of a commercial bank, whose invested capital may be considered the equiva-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lent of a mutual's surplus. But with all the legal restrictions there are on the investment of a mutual's funds—and they are in many cases antiquated and unreasonable—a surplus is ordinarily ample if it is only a fraction of what is desirable for a commercial bank, since the latter can be much freer with the depositors' money than the mutual can. Indeed, a mutual's surplus need only be large enough to pay its operating expenses and safeguard its liabilities when securities prices fall. In Massachusetts the average surplus is about 8 per cent, and the two largest mutuals in Boston, the Boston Five Cents Savings and the Provident Institution whose trustees will never be charged with radicalism, manage to get along with nearer 6 per cent, which is less than half what the Bowery Savings and the Emigrant Industrial in New York hold.

Of course, it will be said that the amount which is not disbursed but might be is negligible—the deserving poor would never know the difference, even if they got it. The fact is that a 10 per cent surplus means that for every $100 shown on a depositor's passbook, there is $10 not shown but held to protect the $100. This is more than enough to earn operating expenses; it is more than is needed if the investments of the bank are properly made; and it is nowhere near enough to compensate if they are not. Surpluses are never a substitute for solvency.

But, even assuming that disbursements are too low, the depositors are not under a hardship on account of it. Instead, the practice of cutting down the rate of distribution obscures from the public what mutuality can really do. While the efficiency of private enterprise is praised with such continual din that it is taken for granted, these savings banks, even with a left-handed, otiose management, can do so much better than the commercial banks that they have to be hobbled in order to "preserve competition."

There have been and still are a large number of mutual savings bankers who are seriously interested in the idea of mutuality and have not been completely smothered in the air of private ownership that they are forced to breathe. They want their banks to have the range and vitality they are entitled to. They would like to procure trust powers and permission to carry checking accounts. They would like to have branches. They would like to join the Federal Reserve System. All of which would be perfectly reasonable. To say that these extensions of power would be "dangerous" is absurd and malicious.

An instance of the jealousy with which mutual savings banks are withheld from increasing their scope occurs every year in Massachusetts, where under the provisions of a law for which Mr. Justice Brandeis is responsible the banks issue very attractive low-cost life insurance. This is hateful to the life-insurance agents, and every year they besiege the Massachusetts Legislature in an effort to get the law repealed or changed. The life-insurance companies they represent are themselves mutual in many if not most cases, but that means very little. They pool far greater funds for the absorption of securities than the mutual savings banks do and consequently they are more important adjuncts of capitalistic enterprise. At the same time that they temper their mutuality by accommodating the financiers, they foster a horde of insurance agents at a cost which is one of the things that makes salesmanship a disgrace. With such connections, therefore, the mutual insurance companies are hardly to be expected to have any more solicitude for the mutual savings banks that compete with them than the insurance agents themselves have.

Meanwhile, however, the Massachusetts banks hold their own and grow, though not because of any general belief in the principle of cooperative enterprise. They grow because for their own preservation they make the most of an exceptional competitive advantage such as mutual savings banks outside Massachusetts do not have. They offer a bargain; and anyone living in Massachusetts should do himself the service of taking out some State insurance, unless his puritanical, uncompromising, capitalistic conscience will not permit him to do so.

This Massachusetts situation is spoken of because it exhibits again both the practicability of cooperative enterprise and the sleepless jealousy that is always ready to hamstring and eviscerate it. It is the treatment mutual banking receives and not any inherent functional weakness that modifies its success. And if any more expedient method of rounding up the savings of the deserving poor for exploitation can be found, mutuality will be put out of its misery. Means to that end and aggressiveness in using them are not lacking. Commercial banks, by offering the greater convenience of savings departments in the same room where the customer does his other banking, get savings business away from the savings banks, even while paying a much lower rate of interest. Furthermore they have branches, which the savings banks are senselessly restricted from having. On top of that, securities which were once sold only to individuals of wealth and to institutions like the banks themselves are pushed directly into the hands of these same small depositors for whom the savings banks were originally established. As a consequence of these and other changes, savings banks are no longer considered so helpful in the business world as they once were; and arrangements have been made in several instances for the mutual to turn over its affairs to a commercial bank and go out of business. This has happened conspicuously in Maine, where the omnivorous Wyman-Gannett interests, operating through their bank holding company, Financial Institutions, Incorporated, are ready to relieve almost any mutual of its anemic existence. When the trustees of the Topsham and Brunswick 25¢ Savings Bank officially asked permission to turn over their bank to the Brunswick National, a Wyman-Gannett affiliate, Chief Justice Pattangall is reported to have sighed that he hated to see a mutual savings bank go; but he nevertheless signed the order for its dissolution and it is now being absorbed by the Brunswick National. Still more recently another institution, the State Savings Bank of Saint Paul, Minnesota, has gone out of business as a mutual and taken on new life, along with over a hundred other commercial banks, as a unit of the First Bank Stock Corporation.

Pressure of competition for the mutuals also comes from the building and loan associations, but it is a competition that regular banks feel even more. These associations are also cooperative, of course. They are a new "danger," for though they have been in the field a long time, their growth in recent years has been spectacular. Something must now be done about them—not because they make mutual banking harder, but, what is far more important, because they make banking-for-profit harder.

The record of the mutuals and of the building and loan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

associations and of numerous other cooperative financial institutions contrasts sharply, it should be pointed out, with that of union labor banks in recent years. The latter have little to their credit; they have simply collapsed under the strain of inverted high finance as practiced by amateurs. The weakness afflicting them has been internal, though perhaps none the less unavoidable. They could do too much. The mutual cannot do enough.

The mutuals may persist a long time in their present half-slave state, but as things are their relative importance must inevitably diminish. At a time when small-scale enterprise is breaking down, and economic services are being socialized by functional realignment and grouping, it must be impossible for them to grow competitively unless they are allowed to extend and diversify their activities. And even if they are allowed greater powers, they cannot make themselves a force in our economic life unless they are filled with a vision of their own significance and a will to make the most of it. That they should have had so far a practical rather than an idealistic management is a blessing, provided their capacity for idealism has not become atrophied, for the trouble with most social pioneering is that it is done by persons whose virtues disastrously fail to include an ability to balance out at the end of the year. The mutuals are probably the best proof we have in this country that cooperatives will work; and though it is proved that they will, it is at the moment a grave question whether anything is going to be done to keep them functioning.

So long as responsible persons let remain obscure what they ought instead to climb up on the roof and shout, the public will continue to regard the mutuals as anomalies, and the mutuals themselves will continue blind to their own future. They will continue to sit in a rut with all their money—opulent, cooperative, sterile—wondering how soon the philistines will come and bag them.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter has always maintained that the daily newspapers contained more hair-raising tales to the square inch than any drug-store thriller or six-penny shocker ever written. For every romance of unrequited love, dare-devil escape, high adventure, wild-cat speculation, for every story of heroism or tragedy, for every fictional happy ending, the newspapers print a true story documented with dates, ages, and addresses. There is, for example, the old story of the attempt to sell the Court House to the unsuspecting, innocent visitor to the city. Yet only last week a bona fide advertisement appeared in the columns of the Kingston (New York) *Freeman* offering the Ashokan Reservoir for sale to the highest bidder. The Ashokan Reservoir is the most important part of New York City's water supply. Yet it was actually offered for sale for non-payment of taxes, and only a hastily applied-for court order restraining the sale stopped the proffered bargain. It was explained that a dispute over the assessment of the property had arisen, and was still pending. Meanwhile the enterprising town officials in upper New York State had taken this occasion to rebuke the great city with which they find themselves always at odds.

THEN there is the story of Dr. G. A. I. M. Sykes, who took, so the newspaper accounts allege, $8,000 in good hard money from the Westchester Racing Association because he had, by means of mysterious gadgets and mechanical devices known only to himself, been successful in keeping rain from the Belmont Park race-track during the week of September 6 to 13. The strange feature of this affair is not that Dr. Sykes thought he could make or prevent rain at will, but that actual cash changed hands for his operations. Less amusing, but equally romantic, is the tale of the young lady from Mississippi, Miss Sally Le Blanc, who advertised herself as willing to marry any man who would pay her $1,000 for the care of her aged and ailing mother. Applicants were forthcoming, and a Japanese named Sukerji paid $750 of the required sum to Miss Le Blanc before the matter was revealed as an old-fashioned matrimonial confidence game, and the young lady explained that she already had one perfectly good husband and could not engage to take on another.

* * * * *

WHEN New Yorkers saw a play last year that showed a noble young man, unjustly sentenced to prison, the victim of the prisoners' code which would not allow him to squeal on another—even though that other was the murderer of another squealer and the play's hero would hang for keeping his mouth shut—they might have dismissed the matter as "only a play." But the other day at Welfare Island a twenty-one-year-old prisoner named Louis Elia was found stabbed to death in his cell, and while it was generally believed that he was a squealer and had suffered the vengeance of his prison mates, no prisoner could be found who would say he had knowledge of the crime or its perpetrator. So it goes on. A bank is robbed of $40,000 cash and securities while the bandit car waits at the curb and keeps away a detective by a well-displayed machine-gun—in the pages of a novel? Not at all; in Lincoln, Nebraska, on September 17, 1930, at a little after ten o'clock in the morning. Truth beats fiction every time. The Drifter's advice to booksellers, if they would keep from going bankrupt, is never let their customers read the newspapers.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Tired Radical Hangs On

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I do get so tired of your God-forsaken journal whenever you animadvert (one cannot call it thinking) upon the church.

Your article on the Lambeth Conference was so extremely silly! The very first phrase "organized Protestantism" showed that here we had a hack writer who lacked the faintest notion of his subject. And why be so grudging in praise of the splendidly sane yet liberal pronouncement on birth control? And as for science, what did you want the bishops to do, become fundamentalists? And for our social and economic wrongs, they have gone just as far as Christ went, as also in the matter of remarriage after divorce.

Truly it makes one wonder if your attitude toward the tariff, concerning which I know nothing, may not be as mistaken

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as your guesses about the church, of which I know a good deal.

I may be a tired radical, but if so, it is such pieces as that on the Lambeth Conference that have made me tired.

The renewal of my subscription will follow shortly.

Lincoln, Nebraska, September 9 JOHN H. LEVER

Costigan in Colorado

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am glad to see that *The Nation* has finally mentioned the sensational campaign that has been carried on in Colorado for the office of United States Senator by Edward P. Costigan, former member of the Tariff Commission in Washington and progressive of many years' standing.

Mr. Costigan was opposed by the majority of the Democratic machine and the older and more conservative politicians. He selected as his chief assistant Oscar Chapman, a young lawyer, who made up for his few years of political experience by his pleasing personality, wide acquaintance, unbounded enthusiasm, and respect for the rights of the people. He astounded the State convention by selecting to make his nominating speech John Keating, a lawyer a few years out of law school and practically unknown in the political world. His two seconding speeches were made by persons of like age and experience. The Result was the capture of the Denver delegation.

His campaign for the primary election was carried on in a like manner. Gathered around him was the largest and most enthusiastic group of young volunteer workers ever assembled by a political candidate in the history of Colorado. The work of this group, assisted by strong backing from the labor organizations and from Mr. Costigan's many progressive friends who have followed his splendid career of more than twenty-five years, resulted in his nomination on September 9 by at least 1,500 votes more than were cast for his two opponents combined.

Denver, September 10 DEXTER P. BROWN

Contributors to This Issue

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS is editor of "The Conning Tower" in the New York *World*.

JOHN A. HOBSON is one of the foremost British economists and a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

D. T. HOWARD is director of personnel at Northwestern University.

J. G. CURTIS is the pseudonym of a careful student of present-day financial and industrial developments.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER is author of "The Temptation of Anthony."

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is the editor of "The Critique of Humanism."

BENJAMIN STOLBERG is a writer on economic and other subjects for current periodicals.

ALLEN TATE is the author of "Jefferson Davis: His Rise and Fall."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is associate professor of the philosophy of religion at the Union Theological Seminary.

Liam O'Flaherty's

TWO YEARS

An autobiographical account of adventure and struggle—the amazing self-revelation of a modern genius. Following his discharge from the British Army, and before he began to write, O'Flaherty wandered two years, seeking reality in a war-torn world. Now, after ten years, he records this profound experience.

Just published, $2.50

By the author of MR. GILHOOLEY, THE MOUNTAIN TAVERN, THE HOUSE OF GOLD.

Harcourt, Brace & Co., 383 Madison Ave., N. Y.

New Crowell Books

Communist and Co-operative Colonies

By Charles Gide, *College de France.*

"I regard it as the most comprehensive, scientific and readable book on these social colonies, that has thus far appeared."—DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER. ($2.50)

Humanistic Logic *for the Mind in Action*

By Oliver L. Reiser, *University of Pittsburgh.*

A restatement of Logic in its original terms, but with the emphasis upon human problems and conduct. ($3.00)

Readings in Psychology

By Raymond Holden Wheeler, *University of Kansas.*

Carefully selected readings planned to give the beginning student in psychology access to experimental investigations. ($3.75)

The Englishman and His Books
In the Early Nineteenth Century (1790-1837)

By Amy Cruse, *author of "The Shaping of English Literature."*

Mrs. Cruse concentrates attention on the readers instead of the writers. Her sources are: diaries, letters, reviews, newspaper paragraphs, etc. There are thirty-two interesting full page illustrations. ($3.50)

THOMAS Y. CROWELL CO.
393 Fourth Avenue New York.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Drama, Films

The Wall

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

I

Oh, stately though we walk
our flippant shadows break
on walls our dignities.

II

Nor are there walls so vast
or squinted so convex
as are our neighbor's eyes
that build upon our sight.

Then your all gentle grace
and I who am not more
gross statured than the rest

dare never kiss but see
our vast disfigures cast
immediate on the wall.

The Cult of Anonymity

A GROUP of literati in Paris have founded a cult of anonymity, and have already succeeded in securing considerable publicity for it. There has come to my desk a pamphlet, with the simple title "Anonymous," published by the Carrefour Editions of Paris. It is a manifesto—it may even be *the* manifesto—of the new movement. It is of course unsigned. Like most manifestos of new literary cults it is very solemn and mystical, and it leaves the impression that if its program were generally adopted we should somehow rush into a renaissance. We learn, among other things, that though the artist who joins the movement does not see his name signed to his work, "as compensation he has a unity with the world and with his art"; that "for the individual name and the individual symbol, Anonymous substitutes the world name and the world symbol," and even that anonymity will "reestablish the bond between man and the universe." I am not sure that I know exactly what all this means, but if man has lost his bond with the universe it seems a matter to be regretted, and any proposal for effecting a reconciliation should at least be examined in a friendly spirit.

For all its rhetoric and pseudo-profundity, the manifesto has some very sensible things to say. It wishes to curb the exploitation of personalities, and to establish "the art as an ideal, not the ego." The anonymous artist "demands a continuous aliveness from the audience because he is continually offering it unlabeled work, fresh work which presents itself on its own merits without the asset or liability of preconceived notions." He would stop reviewers from patronizing his work as "promising," for each anonymous author's book, each painter's canvas, would be "his last work, final and posthumous." (For some reason the pamphlet does not point out that it would also be his first, and so prevent reviewers from damning the artist's later work by comparison with his earlier; reviewers would be compelled to judge this later work, too, on its merits.) The anonymous author, under no compulsion to fulfil preconceptions by continuing to write in his supposedly characteristic vein, "can stop and start afresh at any time." Anonymity, generally adopted, would "remove the crushing, competitive weight of the established name and reputation" and make it "simpler for unusual work to be recognized, to arrive, and to survive." Finally (unless I am reading into it what I think ought to be there), the manifesto proclaims that anonymity would end the exploitation of mere eccentricity and factitious individuality and lead authors and artists to seek an impersonal perfection. There are in addition a number of perhaps minor arguments that a manifesto of this sort ought surely to have put forward—that if reviews, for example, were anonymous (as they still are in the London *Times*) there would be fewer friendly or timid notices, less temptation on the part of reviewers to bid for quotation in publishers' advertisements, by the use of preposterous superlatives, and criticism might be less wantonly impressionistic and more objective.

Yet when all the real or supposed advantages of anonymity have been set down, I cannot bring myself to favor it as a consistent practice. (Of course, as a professional reviewer I might be accused of bias anyway. The critics in "Fanny's First Play" pointed out that they could not possibly know what to say about the play until they knew who had written it. With this warning to the reader, I may continue the argument.) Anonymity seems, to begin with, an unfair discrimination against the writer or artist. Business men are not anonymous, nor bishops, nor athletes, nor statesmen, nor explorers, nor lovers, nor generals—only the Unknown Soldier, and the honor he reaped came after, and indeed because of his death. A business man, making a large enough profit, might well be content to remain anonymous, but the author or artist, if his ideals are high, is supposed to get his real external reward not in money but in fame. Bubble or not, reputation is a constant stimulus for the artist to put forth his best. If that reputation finally acquires a commercial value, if the author gets himself "established," that seems little enough compensation, and he ought to have the benefit of it. Nor does it seem reasonable to assume that the common tendency of authors who finally acquire reputations is to rest upon their laurels; rather, with a reputation to maintain or increase, most authors or artists must be encouraged to put forth their best constantly. Anonymity would only increase, not lessen, the temptation to write potboilers, to aim solely at commercial returns. And so far from discouraging experimental work, it seems to me that established reputation makes it far easier for daringly experimental work to win recognition. It was surely less difficult for Joyce to achieve a hearing for "Ulysses" when he was already known as the author of "Dubliners" and "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man." It is almost certain that neither "The Great God Brown" nor "Strange Interlude" would have achieved stage production if O'Neill's already established name had not been attached to it. And even when we turn to criticism, it seems to me that the signature on a review acts to curb the malicious and cowardly attacks so frequent in former generations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the most important, the practically indispensable vantage of the signature, is its enormous aid to all of us in nomizing our time. It acts in two directions. The signa-e of Shaw, Strachey, Gide, Thomas Mann, Santayana, N. Whitehead, Hemingway is a sign that there is proba- something of value to be found in the volume that bears just as hundreds of other signatures are practically guar-ties that you are missing nothing. Signatures act as a ide in still another way: they tell you how to allow for wind. It is important to know whether a given review by Gorham B. Munson or by Burton Rascoe. The value, ain, of being able to view any artist's work as a unit—say akespeare's plays, Rembrandt's paintings, or Plato's dia-gues—is considerable; anonymity would reduce such com-ehensive views to mere guesswork. But we come back to economy of time. The problem of the book editor who ust often eliminate eleven out of every dozen volumes at come in for review is already desperate enough. Each ar brings its crop of new authors. The editor cannot pos-ly read them all through before assigning reviews. But can at least clear the way for new authors by eliminating e volumes of authors known to be consistently mediocre. every one of the ten thousand new volumes published each ar were without a signature the book editor's task would come impossible, and the reader for whom reviewers are pposed to act as middlemen and guides would be left com-etely at sea.

"Who built Notre Dame?" one of the members of the w cult asked a reporter. "Who sculped the Winged Vic-ry? Who wrote the Bible? Who wrote Homer?" These etorical questions seem to me to involve a slight fallacy of plication. There are certain great works of the past that ppen at present to be virtually anonymous, though they ay not have been so at the time they were produced. But can see no reason for supposing that their greatness was used by their anonymity.

HENRY HAZLITT

Ex-Literary Radical

oadside Meetings. By Hamlin Garland. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

ONCE upon a time Mr. Hamlin Garland was aflame with a passion for social justice. In this new book of his he can complacently write: ". . . as I write this ntence . . . six dollars for an eight-hour day is the wage of ewing women, and scrubwomen are almost as haughty as ooks—the poor are almost obsolete." Once upon a time he as a literary radical. Now he can covertly sneer at the ctive writers: "our present-day school of pornographic fiction." Once he was a veritist and a proponent of local color and ooked toward the future. Now he is a member of the merican Academy and rests on his laurels. Yet in spite of is terrible respectability he is a sad man. He feels that he ell between the two stools of journalism and fine letters. ournalism was the *Home Journal* of Bok, the *Post* of Lorimer, nd *McClure's*. Fine letters was Alden's *Harper's,* and the *entury* of Richard Watson Gilder and Robert Underwood ohnson. Mr. Garland wrote for the former and chummed round with the editors of the latter. He feels that this ttempt to maintain a split personality brought him pretty low.

If my reading of his literary autobiography is correct he was brought low to an even greater extent by his confused sense of values. There is something tragically ironic in his deference to Gilder, Johnson, and Alden when one considers that he was supposed to be a radical. But the situation reveals the important fact that Garland never quite knew where he was going. He wanted to be truthful in his own stories, but he got himself confused by thinking about "wholesome" realism. He sensed the immense brilliance of Stephen Crane, but regretfully concluded that Crane would never develop like Booth Tarkington and Owen Wister! He never quite understood the position of Henry B. Fuller, who was vastly more "radical" than Garland and who was *not* confused. In spite of it all, though, Garland did rather better than Bret Harte, who came to a complete bankruptcy.

For with all his trials and befuddlements Garland at least wrote "Main Traveled Roads," the Middle Border series and, at last, this valuable book. "Roadside Meetings" is a superb literary document, full of information, strewn with brilliant portraits (brilliant even in their misunderstandings), and stuffed full of evidence to support Van Wyck Brooks's most pessimistic generalizations about the American literary life.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Au Revoir, Mr. Douglas!

Good-Bye to Western Culture. By Norman Douglas. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE reason why such sociological erotica as "Mother India" are so false as the indictment of a culture and so true as a psychoanalytical autobiography is rather simple, for all of Miss Mayo's cleverness. The dirty little things she may be partly right about fail to rise to the dignity of social evils because they are too maliciously isolated from their larger social context, while her salacious pleasure in their presentation purrs with its own unmistakable enjoyment.

Yet Mr. Douglas accepts Miss Mayo as a competent social observer, though of all men he should have recognized an old lady from "South Wind." It was "Mother India" which inspired him to publish these "footnotes" on the West, footnotes which rush about in brilliant confusion and which he threatens will carry him from our midst. With the perversity of the professional *enfant terrible* he decided that the West is far worse than the East, that India is sage while Britain is obscene, that Asia is great and fundamental while we are petty and officious, and so on. Now, I do not mean to say that one may not argue plausibly and with conviction that one prefers India to England, or Siam to Texas, or vice versa. But Mr. Douglas's reasons, whatever their motive, amount to added insults to Miss Mayo's injury to India. Smartness may be the breath of life to Mr. Douglas, and so his cleverness may be his actual philosophy of life. But it is a peculiarly irrelevant gauge for social criticism.

To Mr. Douglas the obsessions of "Semitic Christianity" are obscene, which is quite right; and he illustrates this point with his usual gift for felicitous absurdity. Therefore, it seems to him, the sacerdotal prostitutes of India, the Devadasis, are delicious. There are too many women in this world. To cope with them we in the West have birth control (*sic*), "by which means we destroy males and females indiscriminately," while the high-mindedness of India has developed "two straightforward attempts to tackle the problem—infanticide and polygamy." Abdul Hamid of happy harem memory was a sexual connoisseur and gentleman, while the Westernized contemporary Turks are drab monogamous swine. Our "professors" are the pundits of their own overdeveloped ignorance; ergo the illiterate Hindu peasant is a gentleman, the lousier the more dignified. Because

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our political-mindedness has nothing better to show for itself than the British Labor Party, therefore the political inertia and idiocy of India (rather questionable in these revolutionary days in the East) is a sign of true and eternal wisdom. Because our parsons are fakers or simpletons or both, therefore Indian fakirs are honorable and profound in *their* idolatries to bemuse the public mind. Because our science is a fratricidal weapon practically beyond our control, therefore Indian science is much higher. In short, because our social evils are the outgrowth of social stupidity and crime, Indian social evils, by some mystical syllogism, are the outgrowth of historic wisdom and benevolence. Even the caste system in India, being more rigid than ours, is therefore better because less hypocritical.

Of course, no Indian leader in his senses would be grateful to Mr. Douglas. The mere fact that our Western literacy has resulted in such vast vulgarity of excited ignorance and that the ancient culture of India may have given a certain dignity to her illiterates is certainly no plea for the darkness of the Indian masses, which darkness is incidentally British-enforced. The stultification of the Western mind by the Judaeo-Christian religion is certainly no plea for the cruel atrocities of the Eastern religions. The mere fact— But then why argue? A civilization of such dimensions in time and space as India's is certainly not great because her illiteracy is high, because her caste system is an honest outrage to the human spirit, because her political capacities have been so long aborted by foreign conquest, because her prostitutes are gentler though no less venereal than in the West, because her servants are more silent and easier to handle, and primarily because she has invented the delights of "curry." India is great for reasons which Mr. Douglas's individualist snobbishness has no will to fathom. But, of course, one cannot argue with Mr. Douglas, for cultural preferences, genuine or alleged, are beyond dispute. Far more interesting than Mr. Douglas's epigrams is the reason why a man of his extraordinary sensitiveness, his creative gifts in another field than social opinion, and his great intellectual vitality should say that he believes in them.

The answer, I believe, lies in the eternal distinction in *all* dissident criticism between the revolutionary and the bohemian critic. By revolutionary criticism I do not mean, of course, merely the ukases of the Third International. I mean by it the constantly creative revaluation of values in any given field of human interest. Besides the gifts of temper and endowment, the revolutionary critic has certain obligations. He must have *learning* in his field of criticism. He must know the history and theories of its struggles, and be able to tell the winds of doctrine from philosophical formulations; and the cheap excuse that many "professors" are as stupid as they are wrongly learned is no alibi for him. He must have, in the nature of all creative criticism, a *philosophy* of values. Dissidence without an outlook is mere personal maladjustment. And he must have intellectual courage, he must have the audacity to get himself in wrong with the philistines of the values he attacks. The bohemian critic, on the other hand, is an amateur in his scholarship, and forever mistakes the hoary platitudes he rediscovers for original contributions, though his rediscoveries may be brilliant. The bohemian critic is a dilettante and hence is proud of his philosophy of having none. And he lacks courage. He never frightens the philistines. He is "stimulating" but never dangerous. He loves nothing as much as the glory of dissent, but he never hoists its flag to the mast. He nails it to the fence, and uses words for wind.

Mr. Douglas, as a social observer, is the bohemian par excellence. His learning is episodic, irresponsible, clever, empty. His philosophy of criticism is "Ain't we got fun?" And the courage of his "Good-Bye to Western Culture" is really but an au revoir until we meet him in his next book. Let's hope it will be as good as "South Wind" in the field of little esoteric souls whom he knows with such delicate perfection. Ev in this book, so empty and so smart, his long and exact a intimate mastery of the English tongue occasionally throws a sentence of such unimprovable felicity that it is a joy in itse "That air of pointless preoccupation. It hangs about like i fluenza, infecting the sanest and most self-possessed of us The "devastating epidemic of unreason called Christianity, fro which we Europeans have not yet acquired immunity." "Th ology has left the Mark of the Beast upon our Statute Book Such sentences are worth many pages of annoyance with brig piffle and $3.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG

A New Star

Flowering Judas. By Katherine Anne Porter. Harcourt, Bra and Company. $2.50.

MISS PORTER'S stories have appeared in some of tl more "literary" magazines whose circulation is n large, and her great distinction as a prose stylist h been known only to a few readers. This collection of s stories, which is her first book, is a limited edition of six hu dred copies—evidence of the notoriously mysterious characte of the publishing mind. It is doubtless better for the author t win six hundred readers of six stories in book form than t continue to be sampled by a thousand or ten thousand in th scattered and scattering medium of the magazines. But the is no reason why she should not win six or sixty thousand reac ers—unless indeed the formidable integrity of artistic purpos evinced in every one of these stories is, according to superst tion, necessarily detrimental to popularity.

This is not to say that Miss Porter is an author for th "few," or an experimenter writing for other craftsmen. mean rather that she neither overworks a brilliant style capa ble of every virtuosity nor forces the background of her ma terial into those sensational effects that are the besetting si of American prose fiction. There is almost no American write who escapes the one vice or the other. Of the former, th works of Hergesheimer and Cabell are conspicuously guilt types; types of the latter range all the way from the "socia thesis" novels of writers like Miss Glasgow and Sinclair Lewi to the borings into Negro life of Mrs. Julia Peterkin an Du Bose Heyward.

The distinction to be drawn here concerning Miss Porter' work is this: while American fiction as a whole is chiefly oc cupied with the discovery and then the definition of its ma terials (witness Glenway Wescott's uneasy speculation on th Wisconsin background), Miss Porter already has a scene whic is her instinctive, automatic, unconscious possession; a back ground that she does not need to think out, nor approach intel lectually; a given medium which at once liberates the creativ impulse from the painful necessity to acquire its material an sets it about the true presentation of it.

This is roughly the character of European fiction as op posed to the more uncertain, more speculative, and thinne American variety. To return to the two American vices—we have excellent precisians writing about nothing, or we have au thors who never achieve a style because they lack that single unitary mind which comes out of a fixed relation between the author and his material. The results, in the one case, are an excessive subjectivism or plain egomania, and, in the other, a continual blurring of the fictive characters in the constant ra tionalizing of their social condition. The character does not exist in his own complete and full-bodied right simply because his creator cannot distinguish him from the other rather similar examples of this or that social trend.

Miss Porter's mind is one of those highly civilized instru-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nts of perception that seem to come out of old societies, ıere the "social trend" is fixed and assumed. The individual aracter as the product of such a background also has a cer- n constancy of behavior which permits the writer to ignore e now common practice of relating individual conduct to some stract social or psychological law; the character is taken as fixed and inviolable entity, predictable only in so far as fa- liarity may be said to make him so, and finally unique as the nter of inexhaustible depths of feeling and action. In this anner Miss Porter approaches her characters, and it is this at probably underlies many of the very specific virtues of her riting.

For one thing, her style is beyond doubt the most economi- l and at the same time the richest in American fiction. Only the first story, Maria Concepcion, is there any uncertainty purpose. In the five others there is not a word gone to aste—and there is no under-writing. There is none of that ternation of natural description and character exposition which the hall-mark of formula-made fiction. There is much nsuous detail, but no decoration. For Miss Porter has a di- ct and powerful grasp of her material as a whole; this makes ery sentence, whether of description, narration, or dialogue, eate not only an inevitable and beautiful local effect, but con- ibute directly to the final tone and climax of the story.

For another thing, Miss Porter's stories are never told the same way. Each character, or set of characters, in the ven scene requires a different approach; their own inherent uality, their inviolable isolation as human beings, determines ıe form; and no two of these six stories have anything like the ame form. While the quality of the style is the same in all f them—there is the same freshness of imagery, the same rich ersonal idiom—the method is always different. And—this is er great distinction—the method is always completely objective. t would be difficult to "place" an art like this, unless we may midly call on the word classical. For here is a combination f those sensuous qualities usually accredited to a dissociative omanticism, with a clear, objective, full-bodied outside world.

"Flowering Judas" is not a promising book; it promises othing. It is a fully matured art. We may only hope to ave more of it.

ALLEN TATE

The Negro World's Capital

Black Manhattan. By James Weldon Johnson. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

I SOMETIMES wonder how much worse the North would have treated the Negro than the South has if the North instead of the South had been left with a great population of ex-slaves after 1865. A good deal worse, I imagine. Somehow the puritan conscience would have found divine sanction for humiliations and injustices a little more acute than any that have occurred in, say, the easygoing State of Mississippi.

Some support for this conjecture is to be found in Mr. Johnson's volume, which indicates that just before the Civil War the freedmen of the North were in as unhappy a plight as Negroes of the United States have ever known. New York State abolished slavery in 1827, but it did not give Negroes the same voting rights as whites until a decade after the Civil War. In the middle of the last century there was a Jim Crow rule in New York City whereby Negroes could ride only in certain street cars bearing the sign: "Colored People Allowed in This Car."

In his preface Mr. Johnson says that the book is not "in any strict sense a history." He has written primarily as a narrator, rather than as an analyst or interpreter, and his volume is largely an account of the musical, dramatic, and literary emergence of Harlem. This is an evolution with which the author has been closely connected, and naturally he has been able to enrich his narrative, which he tells spiritedly, with valuable personal recollections and memoranda. The volume is packed with information hitherto obtainable only in scattered form.

Mr. Johnson notes that although white Americans have always been interested in Negro music and folk-lore, in earlier days the Negro profited only by a quickening in the white man of a vague humanitarianism, while our present enthusiasm is for the Negro as an authentic native artist. European writers, as readers of their comments on the United States are aware, recognized the black man as an artist long before we did, and it has been the subject of recent remark by Keyserling, Jung, and Siegfried. One may hope, perhaps, that our acceptance of the Negro as an artist may do more for him than any previous humanitarian feeling. Comparatively few Americans care anything about justice, but practically all of them are enamored of financial success. The recognition of Negroes as artists has meant financial success for some few of them. So possibly a race which hitherto has been able to appeal only to a god of mercy (with poor eyesight and exceedingly hard of hearing) may now do more for itself by snuggling up a little closer to the great god Prosperity.

ARTHUR WARNER

Books in Brief

Robert Peckham. By Maurice Baring. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

The subtitle to Mr. Baring's quiet and charmingly written sixteenth-century novel is: "The Sad History of Robert Peckham of Denham Place, Buckinghamshire, sometime Member of Parliament, Knight and Privy Councillor of Queen Mary, as set forth by himself, Together with sundry sonnets letters and papers; and an Account of his death at Rome in 1569 written by his friend Monsr. Claude Mangot, Juriscon- sult." Robert Peckham errs and suffers solely because of his gentleness, his generosity, his striving ever to do what is right. Of two women he leaves the one he loves to marry the other in order to be faithful to an old promise. A devout Catholic, he looks askance at the reform wave sweeping over England. But he remains loyal to the Tudors, being an instinctive and a complete loyalist. Eventually he leaves England to live in Rome. There he finds the solace of his religion; but he remains homesick and unhappy for England. The story has moments of great poignancy; and throughout it is pervaded by a delicately rendered sadness. The many glimpses into sixteenth-century homes, ways, manners, language, historical characters give the book an added interest and distinction.

Seed on the Wind. By Rex Stout. The Vanguard Press. $2.

One may enjoy Mr. Stout's second novel without being quite convinced by it. He writes a good story. Lora Winter is an honest woman, given neither to coquetry nor promiscuity, and one who is neither hard nor sentimental. Up to the point where the novel ends she has had five lovers and as many children—one by each. She is a good mother but hardly a doting one. Lora takes life as it comes. She has long since become entirely freed from the conventional moral code in which she was brought up. It is apparent that Mr. Stout sees in her the truly perfected and fulfilled female. He has drawn a portrait which is a little hazy, however, and he has stacked the cards a little too obviously before dealing them out in the games between Lora and her five successive lovers. But Mr. Stout has handled with skill, even distinction, his technical problem. He starts the story with Lora's last affair

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edwin Arlington ROBINSON'S

New Poem

THE GLORY OF THE NIGHTINGALES

By the author of TRISTRAM

". . . In the subtle tonal effects of which he has not been sparing, there is beauty if not lustre, an insistent and pervading beauty, a sort of subdued organ accompaniment which rises and falls but continues throughout. And truly the poem is a literary achievement the magnitude of which must grow with renewed reading. Psychological analysis of a peculiarly penetrating and accurate sort, philosophic profundity, and a dramatic human episode—only Robinson can so weave such things together that one exclaims that he has achieved, or nearly achieved, the ultimate in his elected genre."
—*Percy Hutchison, New York Times.* $2.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY — NEW YORK

Soviet Russia

Celebrates the 13th Anniversary of the Revolution

PAGEANTRY—THEATRE—FESTIVALS—Great official demonstrations; holiday making in every walk of life.

Visit the U. S. S. R. during the NOVEMBER CELEBRATIONS
There is no other national holiday like it

REGISTRATION still open in a small party. . . . Sailing October 25th on the S.S. EUROPA; arrival *Bremen,* October 31st; sailing from *Lubeck,* November 1st; arrival *Helsingfors,* November 3rd; *Leningrad,* November 4th through 6th; *Moscow,* November 7th through 15th.

Optional extensions to the Provinces

Round trip $495; from Lubeck $294; from Helsingfors $260.

20-30 WEST 43rd STREET ▲ NEW YORK

THE OPEN ROAD

and works backward to the true dramatic crisis—her fi
As yet, however, Mr. Stout has not struck out a new or i
portant path into the jungles where dwell the emotions a
the impulses.

Witches Still Live. A Study of the Black Art of Today. Theda Kenyon. Ives Washburn. $3.50.

Miss Kenyon's thesis is that "to more than half the peo
on earth today, the Power behind witchcraft is a domina
factor of daily life." It is difficult to avoid the conclusion th
the author sentimentally magnifies this Power. Witchcraft,
sorcery, undoubtedly arose when the first tribal medicine m
discovered that there was an easy living in fooling some of t
people all of the time. It endures among the ignorant for t
same reason. Miss Kenyon's credulity leads her into sor
curious errors. She assumes, for instance, that the Orient
magic-mongers are peculiarly potent. In fact their efforts ha
been proved crude and amateurish in comparison with the a
of sleight and misdirection as practiced by a Keller or
Houdini. Miss Kenyon also attempts to show, by a descriptio
of "black masses" and other ritualistic practices, that witchcra
is devil worship, as opposed to the true Christian faith. Y
sorcery antedated Christianity by thousands of years, and son
of its rituals were taken over in the more modern religion
Thus, in remote Russian villages, one may find the local sorcere
and the local orthodox priest practicing virtually the same hocu
pocus in pretending to cure organic diseases by "driving out th
evil spirit." When the new regime establishes a medical clin
in the village the two rivals may combine to persuade the illi
erate peasant that modern therapy is inspired by the devil.
serious study of the delusive practice of magic would be of grea
value. Miss Kenyon's book is a jumble of every sort of folk
lore and superstition, presented in the style of a hysterical tab
loid reporter.

The Sea Devil's Fo'c'sle. By Lowell Thomas. Doubleday Doran and Company. $2.50.

To one who has read the story of Count Luckner's ad
ventures during the World War—how he ran the blockade o
the Allies and single-handed preyed on their commerce on th
high seas—this volume will seem like skimmed milk after
diet of Grade A cream. It is made up of pictures of th
Count's early days at sea and of years he served in the fore
castle—neither very vital. The last chapter, on how Luckne
was made a doctor of philosophy, is amusing:

> Honorable Rector and Gentlemen, I could never get any education [is what Lowell Thomas says Count Luckner says he said to the assembly]. I was never able to pass through the third grade, and my teachers said I surely would become a bum. What would they think of me now if they knew I was a doctor of philosophy? There was old Professor Stinkel. He tried so hard to pound something into my head, and he was surest of them all that I would be a bum. He was a doctor of philosophy, and now I am a colleague of his. Honorable Rector and Gentlemen, I could never have expected this honor you have given me. Maybe I might have dreamed of being a king, an admiral, or maybe some day an angel in heaven, but I never expected to become a doctor of philosophy.

A Challenge to Neurasthenia. By Doris Mary Armitage. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd. One shilling.

This is a brief tribute from a patient to a very remarkable doctor, L. S. Barnes, of Whitwell, Herts, England, who died in August, 1927. It is an explanation of the great success this unusual man had in dealing with neurasthenic cases while carrying on a wide country practice in general medicine. Brief as it is, this little volume should be in the hands of both the sufferers from and students of neurasthenia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

Two Good Tries

NEWS from the theater still cannot be very rapturous, though there are two good tries that deserve consideration. One of these is Dr. Louis K. Anspacher's "Rhapdy," produced by George M. Cohan and acted by Louis ılhern and some pretty good players; the other is "That's ratitude," written by Frank Craven, and acted by him and me pretty bad players, produced by John Golden.

"Rhapsody" is Dr. Anspacher's investigation into the split rsonality of a war-shocked young composer who makes money th jazz tunes, aspires to do a symphony, and about once in so ten slips off into the night—and many ensuing days—with a stol in his pocket, and some befuddled murderous impulses his head.

Of course there is a psychoanalyst, and the curtain has no ore than gone up before the conversation between the doctor id the old family friend turns to repressions and fears and mplexes, and various ways to get rid of them. There is a ıe play to be written around an analyst, of course, probably hundred of them, and the first few at any rate will have to ake a fairly cumbersome start in order to educate their audiıces. But Dr. Anspacher does seem to have begun his at a ngularly early kindergarten stage. Once begun, although his ay is not any miracle of suspense or intensity, he moves along retty well until he comes to his big scene at the end, but there : comes to grief. Mental surgery is not so different from the ıysical kind. Good analysts don't go in for violent emotional cplosions, scenes of confrontation, and so forth, any more than ood surgeons hurl meat cleavers. However, Dr. Anspacher ıuld have been excused on the ground that his device was good ıeater, if it had just been good. Mr. Calhern's acting was ood theater.

Mr. Craven did better by himself than Anspacher and alhern. "That's Gratitude" also has a fine idea, and any mount of humor, both good and sly. It is all about how danerous it is to get people too much in your debt. Mr. Craven's wn part is, as usual, one of those shy, somewhat shiftless and indly young men who don't seem to behave very efficiently except in an occasional crisis. Most of the play occurs in Hutchinon, Kansas, and there are many, many things about it that ecall "The First Year." In fact, it is hard to put your finger n precisely what is the matter with "That's Gratitude," beause on paper it adds up to the king's taste. But there is some uality of warmth that is missing; it has a kind of dry and rackling texture. Perhaps it is that the whole play is too retient, too much in the modern manner of ellipse and undertatement.

But perhaps it is something a little worse than that—it ıay be that Frank Craven himself has become a little unloving. Ie seems to be a lot more remote from Hutchinson, Kansas, han he ever was from Joplin, Missouri. Of course it is no art of tact to keep talking about all the Craven plays in terms f "The First Year," but since most of us have also talked of lmost every other play by every other American author as neasured by the same old "First Year" standard, perhaps he vill forgive us. How can we help it, since it was head and houlders above all other comedies in the depth of its feeling, n its ability to leave us helpless between laughing and crying. 'That's Gratitude" will make you laugh. And George Barıer plays it almost as well as Frank Craven does, which is erfectly. Nothing further shall be said about the rest of the ompany.

HEYWOOD BROUN

□ PLAYS □ FILMS □

THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS
The NEW GARRICK GAIETIES
GUILD THEATRE 52nd St., W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

"LYSISTRATA"
"If you can throw back your head and laugh, unabashed, at the grandly comic spectacle of life, you will find this 'Lysistrata' an event you will long remember."—Richard Lockridge, The Sun
FORTY-FOURTH ST. Theatre, W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30 Matinees: Wed. and Sat., 2:30.

Opens Friday Evening, September 27
ARTHUR HOPKINS will present
"ROADSIDE"
A New comedy by Lynn Riggs
Settings by Robert Edmond Jones. Staged by Mr. Hopkins
LONGACRE THEA., 48th Street, W. of Bway., Eves. 8:50, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

ARTHUR HOPKINS presents
TORCH SONG
A new drama by KENYON NICHOLSON
"The most noteworthy offering of the new season. As I left the theatre they were standing in the aisles cheering."
—ROBERT GARLAND, Telegram.
PLYMOUTH THEA., 45th St., W. of Broadway. Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30.

Nothing New in the MOVIES?
SEE—"THE DEVIL'S PIT"
An Extraordinary Re-enactment of an Ancient Maori Legend
Played by a Cast of 1000
MAORI NATIVES.—ENCHANTING NATIVE MUSIC—STRANGE SAVAGE CUSTOMS—
Starts SAT. SEPT. 27. Little CARNEGIE PLAYHOUSE 146 W. 57th St.

EMBASSY
THE NEWS REEL THEATRE
B'way and 46th Street — Cooled by Refrigeration — ANY TIME 25c ANY SEAT — Continuous 10 A.M. to Midnight
Complete change of Program weekly—Midnight Shows every Sat.

The Talking Picture That Has Caused All The Talking
OUTWARD BOUND
WARNER BROS.
Hollywood Theatre
Broadway at 51st Street
Twice Daily: 2:45—8:45
Good Seats: 50c, 75c, $1.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REAL ESTATE

NON-PROFIT COOPERATIVE APARTMENTS

OUR COOPERATIVE HOUSE
433 West 21 Street
Chel 3309

Renting office open Until 7 P.M.

3 rooms $62-95 per month
4 rooms $77-124 per month
Investment $2500-4200
Option to withdraw in two years

Consumers Cooperative Services Inc
54 Irving Place—Stuyvesant 9842

Inexpensive Homes . . .

in this intelligently planned community near New York

NEW YORK living presents a problem, especially for those families to whom light and air and play-space for the children are essential. Many intelligent, educated, professional people have found that homes at Sunnyside Gardens in Queens meet these requirements in an ideal way. Built by a limited dividend company, this community, which has received nation-wide favorable comment in town planning circles, is especially attractive to families with a limited rent budget.

A few families are offering their homes at Sunnyside Gardens for re-sale. Terms compare favorably with the amounts that many families pay in rent for quarters that are less desirable.

Sunnyside Gardens is only 15 minutes from Grand Central by subway, and has its own progressive school, as well as many after-school supervised recreation groups in a private park.

As there are but a few offerings, prompt inquiry is advised. For descriptive booklet, write to

GARDEN ESTATES, INC.
Agent for
CITY HOUSING CORPORATION
4344 Carolin Street Long Island City
Telephone: Stillwell 8475

Films

Screen Musical Comedy

MUSICAL comedy is not a subject to be approach lightly by a critic. He may be excused writing abo it in the facetious tone characteristic of the genre self, but may he be serious about it? At the risk of appeari a low-brow to some, and a bore to others, I propose to nothing but serious in discussing "Monte Carlo" (Rivoli) a "Animal Crackers" (Rialto). After all, entertaining as the two pictures are, the question why they are not more entertai ing does not seem to be particularly funny, except for t comedy, of course, that belongs by the very nature of thin to all doings of Hollywood.

Strictly speaking the problem is not the same in both pi tures. "Animal Crackers" is essentially a farce in which a qua tet of delightful loonies is let loose regardless of consequence The loonies being those excellent entertainers, the Marx brot ers, the only quarrel I can pick with the picture is the tamene of its direction outside of its dialogue and gags. A little d tail, the *painted mustache* of Groucho's make-up, may ser to illustrate this point. That a character supposed to be mere a freak should be stamped as a *stage comedian* is an inco gruity to be explained only by the inability of the actors an director to shake off their memories of the stage.

Incidental in "Animal Crackers," this problem of th stage and its conventions becomes the dominant factor i "Monte Carlo." Here we are presented with the deft and times very witty efforts of that grand master of Hollywoo Mr. Ernst Lubitsch, to acclimatize the familiar musica comedy to the screen. Be it remembered, the musical comed in question is not that of "The Jazz Singer" or "The Danc of Life," where singing and dancing flowed naturally from th fact that the characters were singers and dancers. No, i "Monte Carlo" as in his earlier "Love Parade," Mr. Lubitsc is out to capture the very spirit of the artificial, conventiona musical comedy, with its music and dancing as means of dra matic expression independent of the realistic requirements o the plot. It must be admitted that these realistic requirement have balked Mr. Lubitsch, as they have balked others. I fact, every time he introduces singing (in solos, duets, and ever choruses) he feels obliged to disguise the procedure by som device, at which he is often extremely ingenious. It must b even regretfully stated that most of Mr. Lubitsch's ingenuit in "Monte Carlo" is directed at disguising the staginess of th musical comedy convention, whereas in "The Love Parade' he allowed himself a few brilliantly successful flings at some thing much more creative and original; viz., at combining in dependent sounds and images by the process of cutting. Seeing that the final solution of the problem of musical acting on the screen can be found only in the direction of such assembling of sounds and images, I am baffled by the short-sightedness of the Hollywood producers who have not set a single director to explore to the full this tremendous field of cinematic possi bilities.

The artistic justification of musical comedy on the theater stage lies in its frank emphasis of its staginess. But no actor on the screen can make the audience accept him as an actor. He is and will always remain a character. On the screen the power of direct contact with the audience can be wielded only by one person, the man who pulls the strings behind the scenes, the director. For this, however, he must stress the arrange ment, the graphic pattern of his images on the screen in their interrelation with sounds. There is much more to be done in this direction than merely to diversify visual images that are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ung together by a continuous dialogue, song, or orchestral :ompaniment, as in most of "Monte Carlo"; or to com- ıe independent characteristic sounds into a dramatic unison, ıether simultaneous as in the train scenes in "Monte Carlo" consecutive as in the barking dogs and other episodes in 'he Love Parade." Particularly do I look forward to the :hnique of the "split screen," which more than any other :thod promises to develop a purely cinematic convention of ısical comedy and drama.

It is difficult to say what particular qualities in Pudovkin's torm over Asia" (Cameo) aroused so much enthusiasm in 'ance and Germany, unless it be the rather cheap thrust at 'itish imperialism (in the American version of the film dis- ised as White Russian imperialism). Apart from this the ly thing that seems to be of interest in the picture is its cord of the exotic types and manners of Mongolia.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

The National Non-Fiction Best-Seller!

'HE STORY OF SAN MICHELE

By AXEL MUNTHE

"BOB" DAVIS, the best-known and best-loved of American newspaper men, has just sent us the following unsolicited letter. "When this book came out I was in the hospital. That story did more than anything else to bring me back to life. 'The Story of San Michele' is the best biography, the best novel, the best history, the best drama, the best romance I have read in 20 years. No living writer has achieved so much in one volume."

Now in its 28th printing

3.75 at all bookstores DUTTON, 300 Fourth Ave., N. Y.

Are you abreast of the times?

THESE modern subjects every one discusses—would you like to be more familiar with them, know them well? New York University, through its Extension School of Adult Education, offers intensely interesting one hour and twenty minutes a week lectures by which many are keeping well informed.

The Theater of Today—Abnormal Psychology and Mental Hygiene—The Modern Novel—Oriental Civilization—How to Read the New Books—Philosophy in the Modern World—Current Events—The American Scene in Poetry—these are a few of the many important subjects.

Lectures are given once a week from October 6th to February 2d at Washington Square and University Heights—also at Hempstead, New Rochelle, White Plains, Paterson, and Newark.

Registration: September 29th to October 6th from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m. (except Saturdays) in the Main Building, 32 Waverly Place. Make your plans now. Send for bulletin to

RUFUS D. SMITH, Director
University Extension Division

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
101 Washington Square East New York City

SPECIAL!

DR. WILL DURANT

(Author of "The Story of Philosophy," etc.)

will lecture on

"THE CASE FOR INDIA"

at the

Community Church Auditorium
PARK AVENUE AND 34TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

on October 6th, 1930, at 8:15 P. M.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
will preside and conduct Question Period.

This Lecture is Dr. Durant's first public utterance on the subject of India since his return from his recent six-months' visit to that country.

Share of gross receipts to be given to Indian Nationalist Movement.

Auspices

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT *of the* COMMUNITY CHURCH

Tickets: Reserved, $1.50; General Admission, $1.00.
Apply—CHURCH OFFICE, 12 Park Avenue

Jewish Courses for Adults

THE ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER CLASSES

Teachers Institute of Jewish Theological Seminary

OFFER THE FOLLOWING COURSES

JEWISH HISTORY: Biblical, Post Biblical, Modern

JEWISH LITERATURE: Biblical, Post Biblical

HEBREW: Elementary and Advanced

RELIGION: Customs and Ceremonies, Ethical Teachings

OTHER SUBJECTS: (If there are sufficient applicants to form a class)

Professional Training for Prospective Teachers in Jewish Sunday Schools and Club leaders in Jewish Institutions

The Teachers Institute is listed among the schools whose courses comply with the "educational alertness clause" *required of teachers by the Board of Education.*

REGISTER NOW

Branches

Teachers Institute (Morningside Heights)
537 West 122nd Street, New York City
Central Jewish Institute (Yorkville)
125 East 85th Street, New York City
Congregation Mount Sinai (Borough Hall)
305 State Street, Brooklyn
Y. M. H. A. (Bronx) 1511 Fulton Avenue, Bronx

Branches Forming in other Parts of the City

For further information apply to the central office

537 West 122nd Street Telephone, Monument 7500

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The German Crisis

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

ACCORDING to press reports, the moderates, liberals, and Socialists of Germany, who first succumbed to complete despair after the disastrous election of September 14, are now in better spirit and are busy devising means for frustrating the designs of the anti-parliamentary parties of the right and the left which won such a striking victory in the election. The republican parties are probably whistling to keep up their courage, for the situation could not be graver.

When it is remembered that the crisis which necessitated the election was caused by the fact that the Socialists and the various bourgeois parties of the middle were no longer able to continue the cooperation by which alone parliamentarism and republicanism had been maintained in Germany, that the possibilities of finding a working combination between these parties have been greatly restricted by their loss of seats in the election, and that the fascists who won the most striking victory in the election are about as unprincipled a group of political demagogues and freebooters as ever preyed upon a people it may be realized that Germany faces a winter of very serious difficulties. Whether Chancellor Brüning tries to form a cabinet or that task is assigned to Dr. Braun of the Socialists the situation is equally grave. The fact is that there are any number of forces in the so-called republican parties which will give only a very dubious allegiance to any government formed with the cooperation of the Socialists and which may actually decide to throw their strength in the direction of the National Socialists or Hitlerites rather than make any concessions to the tax program which the Socialists regard as a minimum protection of the workingman's interest in the present critical economic situation.

A survey of the parties of the middle will reveal that they have not only been weakened in strength and prestige but are almost without exception less liberal than they were in 1928. The Democratic Party, which has, next to the Socialist Party, been most faithful to the policies of republicanism and international conciliation, has been steadily losing in strength, since its great achievements in helping to frame the Weimar Constitution first gave it a claim upon popular favor. In the recent election it tried to save itself from extinction by uniting with the Young German Order, a veterans' organization which has been traveling steadily from the right to the center in its political orientation, but which was still so far from the liberal position of the old Democratic Party that the fusion of this group with the old party of that name resulted in the loss of the left wing of the Democrats to the Socialists. Furthermore, the addition of the veterans' organization did not increase the representation of the party in the Reichstag by a single vote.

The People's Party has been traveling steadily to the right and conservatism since the death of Stresemann, and its recent working arrangement with the fascists in Thuringia proves that it has become more interested in defeating socialism than in preserving the fruits of Stresemann's international policy. Furthermore, it lost one-third of its rep sentation in the Reichstag.

The Catholic Center Party, which maintains its equ strength in season and out of season and which has render statesmanlike services to the maintenance of republicanis has become steadily more conservative under Brüning's infl ence. The cooperation which it has given Socialist gover ments has played a large part in the political history of Ge many in the last decade. It may probably be counted on resist the fascists, even when the People's Party flirts wi the Hitlerites, but its present loyalty to the cause of cooper tion between the middle and the Socialist groups seems depend rather too much upon its fear of disturbing th Catholic-Socialist coalition which has been ruling Pruss so successfully and has brought so many advantages to th church in this largest of German states.

The conservative groups led by Treviranus, Schiele, ar Westarp which have from time to time dissociated themselv from the conservative party which is under Hugenberg's lea ership, have done so chiefly because they believed that the could combat socialism more successfully by becoming strictl parliamentary rather than by following Hugenberg's metho of embarrassing every government, no matter what its polic They may be counted on to stand for parliamentarism again Hugenberg's growing tendency of cooperation with Hitler but they may also be counted on to make demands as th price of their cooperation which no government supporte by the large Socialist Party will be willing to pay.

No government can exist in Germany at present with out the Socialist Party. The Brüning Government attempte it when circumstances were more propitious than they ar now and failed. But no government including the Socialist can count any longer on the certain support of any of th middle parties by the aid of which Germany has been gov erned for the past decade. Even if the State Party and th Center Party should prove fairly loyal, their combined vote with those of the Socialists will total only 231, less than a majority. Practically all of the other parties carried on an anti-Socialist campaign in the last election. Peril to the Republic will undoubtedly persuade some of them to retrea from certain of the positions taken during the campaign; bu whatever support they may give to the government will be grudging and unreliable. The reason for both the disinte gration and the drift toward the left of the middle parties is fairly obvious. The economic depression which is imperiling the whole structure of German business can be overcome, in the opinion of the German business community, only by low ering prices and capturing world markets by general defla tion. The worker is expected to carry the brunt of this de flation. The business and middle-class world wants him to accept lower wages in order that lower prices may become possible and it also tries to reduce the ever-growing costs of social insurance, which is indeed a heavy burden upon indus try but which becomes increasingly vital to the worker as unemployment continues. There is some logic in the posi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OPEN SHELF

THE BOOKS YOU CAN'T GET ELSEWHERE

nay be rented for a nominal fee. Members hroughout the United States have access to large collection of rare, scarce, out-of-print, trange and curious books; limited, privately-rinted editions, unabridged translations and xtraordinary new books. Please state occupa-lon or profession when writing for informa-ion and lists.

Esoterika Biblion Society
45 West 45th Street, Dep't N-4 New York City

BOOKS WANTED

MARTIN'S BOOK SHOP, 23 Lexington Avenue, will purchase books in large small quantities.

POSITIONS WANTED

POSITION wanted by a young woman, graduate of kindergarten college, with two years of liberal arts, who has also had experience with children as volunteer worker in social settlement. Have child of four that I wish to keep with me. Mrs. C. J. Foster, 7635 Bosworth Ave., Chicago, Ill.

DITORIAL assistant; young woman, four years' experience magazine, newspaper ork, college graduate. Digby 3684.

EMPORARY OR PERMANENT connection wanted. Experienced editorial assistant d secretary to well known editor. College aduate. Well recommended. Box 128, % *The ation.*

OUNG woman, Ph.D., college experience, research abroad, wishes teaching or research sition in Social Science. Box 125, % *The ation.*

ULTURED, Well Educated Colored woman, with 15 years' experience as public school cher, extensive literary training and experi-ce, highest reference, wishes position as sec-ary, editorial assistant, teacher or clerical rk. Available after Oct. 1st. Box 118, % *e Nation.*

EGINNING playwright wants work, in thea-tre or out, affording a few hours daily for iting. A. B., Harvard, 1928; graduate study. ining in writing, current affairs, drama. 144, % *The Nation.*

ART time work wanted (afternoons) by am-bitious girl, high school graduate, now dying fashion art, N. Y. U. Experience in tor's office. Clarkson 0822.

YPING DESIRED — Accurate, intelligent service on manuscripts by shut-in young nan experienced in copy work. Reasonable s. Anna E. Stueber, 112 Woodrow Ave., chester, Mass. Phone Talbot 8002.

CRETARIAL ASSISTANT: Nine years experience with firms of highest standing. ive intelligence, exceptional training. Glad take responsibility. Especially interested in ary and allied subjects. Excellent references. 147, % *The Nation.*

SOCIAL WORKERS WANTED

CIALLY minded young men and women are offered an opportunity to do volunteer social k, evenings, in a model tenement on the East , under competent leadership. If interested, y either by letter to Lavanburg Homes, 132 ck Street, or telephone Drydock 9099.

EDUCATIONAL

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN GERMAN
Conversational method. Native teachers. Private lessons, 75c, short courses, 9 to 9 daily. 22nd year.
FISHER'S SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1264 Lexington Avenue, N. W. Cor. 85th Street

FRENCH-SPANISH-ITALIAN
GERMAN. Private lessons 75c (Daily 9-9). Native teachers. Interesting conversational method. 19th year. Also neglected English education.
UNIVERSAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1265 Lexington Ave., Northeast Cor. 85th St.

TEACHER (former college & H. S. instructor) gives lessons in languages and science: English, French, Spanish, German, Latin, etc.; chemistry, biology, physics, mathematics, etc. Also preparation for examinations. Box 134, % *The Nation.*

SCHOOL

HOFFMANN SCHOOL
for Individual Development
8997 Gouverneur Avenue, between Sedgwick Avenue and Van Cortlandt Park.
Day and Boarding School
CHILDREN 4-13 YEARS SCHOOL BUS

RENTALS

APARTMENTS

A FEW 4 room apartments in the "Our Co-operative House" one year lease, option to purchase at saving. Opposite Seminary campus, higher apartments overlook Hudson, 433 West 21st Street.

CHOICE two-room and four-room apartments with open fireplaces, at 149 East 36th Street, opposite Sniffen Court, Murray Hill restricted district, furnished or unfurnished, $90-$200. Telephone Stuyvesant 1006.

202 W. 10TH—Entire floor, 3 rooms, hall, large closets, kitchenette, shower, French windows, 2 fireplaces, partly furnished, $100. Also 2 1-room apartments, 3 windows, fireplace. $45-$50. Near subway, elevated.

ROOMS

GRADUATE nurse (no longer practising) will rent beautiful sunny bedroom (two windows) in modern apartment. One or two business women or mother and school child. Box 141, % *The Nation.*

BEAUTIFUL, large, well-furnished room, facing reservoir and park. Private family. Rent reasonable. Reference. Home atmosphere. Phone between 8 and 10 A. M., or 5 and 6 P. M. Kingsbridge 10325.

SPLENDID, large, well furnished front room; separate entrance; private family; home privileges. Excellent location near Drive. Unusually low rental to cultured party. 614 West 148th St. Phone Edgecombe 7819.

SHARE APARTMENTS

WILL share with young man, sunny, comfortable,, four-room apartment, near subways and elevated, on 15th Street; grand piano can be used during day. $35 monthly. Box 145, % *The Nation.*

CULTURED extensively travelled Jewish woman, widow, will furnish board and share apartment in City College section with young professional girl. Piano. $15 weekly. Call Chickering 1629.

WANTED—Young woman to share apartment in a model tenement on the East Side; Terms: $12 per month and two evenings of recreational work per week. If interested, call Mr. Goldfeld, Drydock 9099.

Here's how to GET RID of PROHIBITION

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH gives you the first PRACTICAL PLAN

Are you sick of:
—bootleg corruption
—gangster rule
—legal murder
—grafting officials
—poisoned liquor
—pussyfooting politicians
—enforcement scandals

IF SO you have wanted to see a plan by which this could legally be brought about—a *workable* plan that will rid the country of the evils that have sprung from the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act. Now a famous lawyer has worked out that plan—startling in its simplicity—legally and politically possible. The publication of this plan in inexpensive book form has created a sensation. *The Outlook* says in an editorial, "Auerbach has established his position beyond doubt—In a very practical sense, the door is opened for immediate reform."

You will hear this plan discussed on every side. Don't remain ignorant of it. Send the coupon at once with $1 and a copy will be sent by return mail.

AN INDICTMENT OF PROHIBITION

an eminently sane and entirely legal plan to draw the teeth of the 18th Amendment.

Endorsed by
Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler
The Hon. John W. Davis
Dr. Samuel W. Lambert

CLIP THE COUPON NOW—JUST $1

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE. N 1
or HARPER & BROTHERS
49 East 33rd Street, New York.

I enclose $.....
Please send me ..... copies of
AN INDICTMENT OF PROHIBITION
$1.00 each.
Name .....
Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of the business community. Under the Versailles treaty a charge of a half billion dollars per year is levied upon German business. Whether this reparation payment is paid in cash or goods or is met by increased loans, the result in any event is to make fluid capital scarce and therefore dear. Eight and nine per cent for loans are minimum charges in Germany. The industrialist therefore contends that since circumstances force him to pay high interest for his money he can lower prices only by lowering wages. Thus the German workers would carry more than their share of the reparations load. It is surprising, in view of this fact, that so many of the German workers have resisted the blandishments of the Communists and have remained true to the Socialist Party, which had such a prominent part in all the international agreements by which the present debt load was settled upon Germany.

Surprising as is this constancy it is not surprising that an increasing number of Germans should express their resentment against what they regard as their political and economic slavery by voting for the National Socialists. This party of demagogues tries to capture the worker by spurious socialistic planks in its platform. The fact that the planks are spurious is proved by the liberal support which the party secures from some of the great industrialists of the nation, who believe that fascism is their only security against communism. By exploiting at the same time the discontent of the worker and the outraged pride of the Nationalists the party has won its tremendous victory. It is possible that its lack of any constructive program may in time render it innocuous. It opposes the Versailles treaty and the Young Plan, but it offers no alternative to the present arrangements. It exploits the weaknesses of parliamentarism which the internecine conflict of the parliamentary parties has made obvious but it does not explain how it proposes to govern Germany, except by making vague allusions to a dictatorship. Its chief emphasis in the campaign was placed upon its anti semitism and by this it has succeeded in reviving a type o racial animosity which is unworthy of a cultured state. Th only basis for this antagonism to the Jews seems to be tha they had a rather large share in both the industrializatio and the democratization of Germany; the Hitlerites cor rectly suggest that the former was basic and organic to th latter. Every campaign poster in the recent election (an the Hitlerites placarded every billboard of Germany) adde to the annoucement of the fascist meetings the words "Jude haben keinen Zutritt."

A party which draws its strength from such prejudice and builds on such hopes and fears as the Hitlerites manage to excite in the breasts of German citizens shows that Ger many is politically not healthy. For its lack of health th entire Western world is responsible. Just what the victor of the fascists may mean for the political life of Germany not yet apparent. But it is obvious that the republican gov ernment of Germany is seriously menaced and that the fascis victory which French observers are so eager to interpret a evidence of the faithlessness of the German people is reall but the natural consequence of the whole international polic of the Allied Powers which expects a self-respecting peop not only to acknowledge a guilt from which the sober opinio of the world has freed it long since, but to accept politic and economic slavery for two generations as penance f this guilt.

RESORTS

Unity House

FOREST PARK, PA.

Twelfth Season

At the foothills of the Poconos

A 750 acre estate with dense forest stretching for miles, forming a background of rare scenic charm. A combination of social and camp activities with all the comforts of a luxurious hotel. 1½ mile private lake.

OPEN ALL YEAR

For information and booklet write

New York Office
3 West 16th St.
Chelsea 2148

Philadelphia Office
52 N. 10th St.
Walnut 2793

Owned by the I. L. G. W. U.

We are now taking reservations for the Fall and Winter season. ¶WESTERN VIEW FARM, New Milford, Conn., 83 miles from Columbus Circle, elevation 1000 feet. ¶Hospitality that is unique. It brings back friends year after year. Eleventh season. ¶Riding, mountain climbing, tennis, or rest and quiet if you want it. ¶Interesting people. ¶Rates $8 a day, $49 a week. Telephone New Milford 440.

INVITING FALL DAYS

IN THE CONNECTICUT HILLS

Complete rest and rebuilding, in delightful country. Invigorating outdoor life. Saddle horses. Swimming. Ideal for week-ends. Only 1½ hours from New York.

TOPSTONE FARM

Write: R.F.D. 4, Ridgefield, Conn.

Telephone: Ridgefield 648

ZINDOREST PARK CALLS YOU TO ITS INDIAN SUMMER

A millionaire's estate—150 acres chuck full of beautiful landscaping, brooks, ponds, lake, fruit orchards. Exquisite house with large sleeping and lounge rooms; hot and cold showers; tennis, rowing, fishing and other recreations; exceptional good Jewish cuisine. 1½ hours on Erie R.R. or auto route No. 17.

ZINDOREST PARK MONROE, N. Y.
Open All Year Phone: 122 F3

CABIN

CABIN for two or four, available immediately, hunting region of Adirondacks, in exchange for two hours' work each, daily, on dam, trails, painting, etc. References exchanged. Box 143, % *The Nation.*

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP
A Clearing House Of Opinion
Meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th Street
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30TH AT 8:30 P. M.
DR. JOHN HOWARD LATHROP
(Recently returned from India)
will speak on:
"MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA"
(Weekly notices mailed on request)

SHOPPER'S CORNER

REAL HARRIS TWEED Direct from the Maker Suit-lengths by Mail
Postage Paid. Sample free on stating shades desired, and for Gents or Ladies wear. NEWALL, 150 Stornoway, Scotland

RADIOS, all makes at quite substantial s ings. For catalogs call John 1427 or w SERVWELL SYSTEM, INC., New York City

MARITZA, 172 W. 4th Street,
is having a summer clearance sale, which very worth while. Very special crocheted cc made of hand woven material $24.50. Hand broidered dresses, voile—$7.50 up, silk—$1 up. Palestinian children's dresses—$3.50. hats, and crocheted dresses. New cloth mo for the fall.

HOME WANTED

YOUNG lady studying Russian would like make home with liberal Russian fam Would consider sharing an apartment. M be in Manhattan. Reply Box 146, % *The Nat*

PERSONAL

INSTEAD of storing your grand piano season during your absence may I use it the period of the Julliard Graduate School f October until May. Utmost care assured. 142, % *The Nation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED